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MEMOIRS

OF

ANNE, DUCHESS OF BRITTANY.

TWICE QUEEN OF FRANCE.

BY

LOUISA STUART COSTELLO,

AUTHOR OF

"MEMOIRS OF MARY, DUCHESS OF BURGUNDY"—"MEMOIRS OF EMINENT ENGLISHWOMEN"—"LIFE OF JACQUES CŒUR"—"A SUMMER AMONGST THE BOCAGES AND THE VINES"—"THE ROSE-GARDEN OF PERSIA"—ETC., ETC., ETC.

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TO

HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY

THE QUEEN,

THESE PAGES,

DESCRIPTIVE OF THE LIFE OF A SOVEREIGN

EMINENT ALIKE FOR HER

UBLIC CONDUCT AND PRIVATE VIRTUES, ARE

(By Especial Permission)

HUMBLY DEDICATED,

BY HER MAJESTY'S DUTIFUL AND GRATEFUL SUBJECT

AND SERVANT,

LOUISA STUART COSTELLO.

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PREFACE.

The Author of the following work feels happy in acknowledging her obligations to M. Paulin Paris, of the Imperial Library in Paris, for his courtesy and kindness in furnishing her with a copy of a manuscript letter of Anne of Brittany, the original of which is preserved among the many treasures confided to his keeping. Her thanks are also due to the librarians of the public libraries of Boulogne-sur-Mer and Rouen, the stores belonging to the invaluable Bibliothèque Léber, at the latter place in particular, having furnished her with information of the greatest importance to her undertaking. To M. l'Abbé Langlois, of Rouen, she is also much indebted for the liberal use he allowed her of his library, and to several other friends who have

interested themselves in her favour. The Author subjoins a list of the authorities she has consulted:—

Hilarion de la Coste.
Claude de Seyssel.
Lobineau.
Cimber: *Archives.*
Jean Bouchet.
Taillandier.
Rapin.
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Godefroy's *Comines.*
Du Fresnoye's *Continuation of Ib.*
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La Villemarqué: *Barzas Breiz.*
Guyot Desfontaines.
Du Tillet.
Jaligny.
Daniel.
Mezeray.
Monstrelet.
Brantome.
Du Tillet.
Dupleix.
Belleforêt.
Dreux du Radier.
Berthevin.
Gaguin.
André de la Vigne.
Pierre de Mareuil.
De Thou.
Ferron.
Dulaure.
Fleuranges.
Taïlhé.
Jean d'Authon.
And others.

ERRATA.

Page 40, for *Maréchands* read Marechaux.
„ 44, for *loveliness* read liveliness.
„ 97, for *Duke* read Prince.
„ 143, for *dent* read deut.
„ 235, for *pete* read perte.
„ 260, for *doyer* read doyen.
„ 289, for *cited* read being cited.
„ 310, for in vita *ma* read in vitâ mea.
„ 337, for *his* read her.
„ 366 and 367, for *picca* read pieça.
„ 375, for *ange* read amie.
„ 420, for *jeine* read jeune.

MEMOIRS OF ANNE OF BRITTANY.

INTRODUCTION.

While the fatal Wars of the Roses were desolating England, and by turns the houses of York and Lancaster triumphed—the rest of Europe looking on uneasily, until calm succeeded the long confusion, and Henry of Richmond had gained his crown—Brittany, now the ally of France, of Spain, of Germany, and of England, was finishing the days of her independence under her last Duke, Francis II., and his heiress Anne, who at fourteen was called to a ducal throne beset with perils such as had so appalled her father that he sank under their burthen.

The great aim of France, for a series of years, had been to bring about the annexation of Brittany. In the hands of its own rulers it was a formidable Power, holding, as it were, the key of the destinies of France, by means of its seaports and its geographical position, thus standing exactly in the way that could afford at will a passage to an enemy. As long as Brittany was inde-

pendent it called for continual caution on the part of the mother country to keep the turbulent dukes, her tributaries, in a friendly temper, and more conciliation was generally shown them than was allowed to Burgundy, also a barrier to her ambition which France chafed to throw down.

After innumerable attempts to gain the country, both by force of arms and artifice, France was almost reduced to despair; for its last astute Monarch, Louis XI., to whom almost all difficulties had given way, and who had seen the downfall of the house of Burgundy, had failed to accomplish the great end of uniting Brittany to his other vast possessions. But just at the moment when all seemed lost, and the sceptre of France was in the hands of a feeble boy, the death of the last Duke of Brittany, and his young daughter's accession, revived all the hopes which were gradually fading away.

As certain now of success as before depressed, France recommenced her persecuting policy, and spared neither wit nor force to subdue the spirit of one whom it was natural to conclude was too young to be able to resist. But the clever and ambitious Regent of France, Anne, daughter of Louis XI., guardian to her young brother Charles VIII., was astonished to find that in the child of fourteen, who was called to the head of affairs in Brittany, she had a formidable rival, even then, and one destined hereafter to put an end to her own sway. Neither France nor England were prepared for the resistance made to her enemies by the young Duchess Anne, who, though in the end overpowered by superior strength, was not ignobly conquered, but conferred, with her hand, a

mighty gift on a grateful people, instead of succumbing to their violence and becoming their dependant.

To France, Anne of Brittany may be said to have furnished her navy, while the acquisition of her important country so much strengthened that of her husband's, that an end was put to the fear of invasion from England to which before France was subjected. She could now command the seas in that part of her dominions, and offer effectual opposition to her rival on her own element. A race of hardy, bold, and generous men was added to her subjects, and her revenues were greatly increased.

But, added to these advantages, a greater still existed in the example of a young Queen endowed with noble and exalted qualities, whose dignified conduct altogether changed the manners both of the Court and the people of France—debased by the profligate character of the reign of Isabeau de Bavière, the influence of female favourites in the next, and the powerlessness of the amiable wife of the selfish tyrant who preceded Charles VIII. Although credit is certainly due to Anne de Beaujeu, the Regent, for attempting to establish a better order of things at Court, yet it was to Anne of Brittany's energy and resolution, that her adopted country was indebted for a thorough reformation both in its manners and morals. The Court of Queen Anne became, in fact, another word for purity, modesty, and virtue, and as the author of her "Eloge," Hilarion de la Coste, remarks, it was "Une gynécée de pudeur: elle avoit," he adds, "tellement l'œil sur les filles et damoiselles que les dames et princesses envoyoient de

toutes part leur filles pour y être nourries et élevées en sa cour comme en la première école de vertu."

As the ladies of the time improved in refinement, the knights and nobles naturally kept pace with them, and from its being rigorously exacted by the Queen that the careless habits of the camp should be kept out of sight in her presence, an enforced deference and necessary ceremony took the place of the coarseness and licence too long permitted. No doubt this discipline was the means of forming the manners of the rising generation, until, in Francis I. and his knights, ideas of honour, chivalry, and courtesy had become a part of the nature of a gentleman.

As long as the daughter of Anne of Brittany, the amiable Claude, was spared to the Court of her graceful and volatile husband, her mother's example was followed, but, after her death, a new era, more elegant and learned than moral, succeeded, under the auspices of the coquette, Louise of Savoy, and the accomplished philosopher, Marguerite of Navarre.

Had Anne's reign continued a few years longer, the effects of her reform would have been more certain, having had time to take deeper root; but to her is due the praise and honour of leading the way to female excellence in France, and, consequently, in all Europe. Her example was, doubtless, not lost on Isabella of Spain or Marguerite of Austria, nor on Elizabeth of England, for such merits as hers are never without their effect on the age.

Anne of Brittany, placed, at a still earlier age than the interesting heiress of Burgundy, in much the same

position, at the head of a menaced duchy, had, like Mary, to contend with the treachery and ambition of France, the tyrannical Suzerain, who coveted the possessions of both heiresses. She was contracted to the recent widower of the Burgundian Princess, and became involuntarily the rival of her infant daughter, so that the fate of one is, to a certain extent, connected with the other, and the biography of Anne seems naturally to succeed that of Mary.

Sought in marriage by a host of princes, her hand offered as a bribe to the most powerful, in the midst of discontented subjects, and with a grasping enemy ever watching near, Anne had to go through the same difficulties and dangers as the daughter of Charles the Bold, and there is also similarity both in the happiness of her married life and her too early death.

Her boldness, when, at the age of fourteen, she rode by the side of Dunois, at the head of her troops, up to the gates of revolted Nantes, and haughtily defied her enemies; the resolution of her protest before her Council against being sacrificed to a man whom she detested; her flight from her sacked and burning towns; her pleadings for protection, and persecution from treacherous friends; the separation from the man she loved, and her betrayal into a marriage she dreaded; her after happiness, her grief for the loss of her amiable young husband, and her terrors for the future, ending in the fulfilment of hopes long abandoned;—are incidents that render her story one of more than commonly romantic interest.

Those travellers who have seen the beautiful tomb of

her parents at Nantes, or have visited the wild Druidic scenes and curious old towns of her beloved Brittany, or, who have examined the exquisite volume of the "Heures d'Anne de Bretagne" in Paris, will follow her fortunes in this narrative with the more pleasure, and those to whom the account is new, may not be sorry to find a fresh figure to be placed in an honourable position amongst the records of female worth.

L. S. C.

December, 1854.

CHAPTER I.

THE YOUNG DUKE—DEATH OF THE FIRST DUCHESS—BIRTH OF ANNE OF BRITTANY—PIERRE LANDAIS—THE FAVOURITE'S POWER—INDIGNATION OF THE BRETONS—INTRIGUES OF LANDAIS—CHANCELLOR CHAUVIN—THE EMBASSY—ARTIFICE OF LANDAIS—FATE OF GOURMEL—MOCK TRIAL OF CHAUVIN.

In the year 1458, Marguerite d'Orleans, the widow of Richard de Bretagne, entered the town of Rennes with her young son François, to whom she was guardian, and who came to take possession of the dukedom of Brittany, to which he had succeeded by the death of his uncle Arthur, who, although three times married, had left no children.

It had been settled, in consequence of the troubles formerly caused in the country by a female reign, that as long as there were male heirs in the ducal family, no daughters should succeed; consequently, Duke Arthur had been called to the dignity instead of either of the daughters of his brother François Premier; and the son of his brother Richard, in due time, became his heir. To prevent, however, any difficulties, and in order to unite their interests, young François had been united to Marguerite de Bretagne, his eldest cousin, whose sister was married, at the same time, to the youthful Viscount de Rohan Lui, of that powerful family.

By this alliance the tranquil possession of the duchy was secured to the chosen successor, and the marriage of the Princess and her cousin took place with great ceremony at Vannes. The bride's dress is described by one of the historians of Brittany* as being very splendid, her *bodice of crimson velvet* alone, however, being particularised; but he dwells much on the jewelled crown she wore, and her precious necklace, also on the gorgeous costume of the Dame de Penhoet, who bore the Princess's train, and whose "bodice was of scarlet velvet, and her head-dress of gold, studded with pearls, having a circlet of precious stones to complete its effect." Of this fair young bride, covered with jewels, the remaining record, furnished by the same historian, is, that she died eleven years after "de déplaisir ou autre accident," and was buried in the Church of the Carmelites, at Nantes, "au grand regret de plusieurs; ne laissant enfans."

For several years Marguerite had wept alone in her solitary abode, while the Château de l'Hermine, where her young and careless husband resided in great state, resounded nightly with the sound of revelry, of which the presiding genius was the too fascinating and too well-beloved Antoinette de Maillezais, to whom Duke François could refuse no favour, and who ruled him to the utmost of her will, disposing of his wealth and usurping his power without control.†

The neglected Duchess dead, it became necessary that a successor should be found to her splendour and her sorrows, therefore the barons of Brittany, with the Sieur de l'Escun at their head, directed the choice of the in-

* D'Argentré. † D'Argentré.

different bridegroom, and the beautiful and amiable Marguerite, sister of the Count de Foix, was considered a fitting match for their illustrious ruler. In 1471, this second marriage took place, and five years afterwards, namely, on the 26th January, 1476,* "at thirty minutes past five in the morning,"† was born to Duke François II., a daughter, whose birth was looked upon by many of his subjects as a judgment of Heaven upon him for his unfaithful conduct as a husband, "no *son* of his succeeding." This daughter was Anne, destined to change the fortunes of her country, and to end the ducal line in Brittany.‡ A second time the expectations of François were disappointed, for another daughter was given him instead of the son for whom he sighed in vain.

Brittany was, at this time, at the height of prosperity: at peace with all the surrounding States, in good intelligence with France its Suzerain, opulent, powerful, rich in commerce, and flourishing in arts and manufactures. The earliest acts of Duke François had been judicious: he had encouraged workmen from Arras to establish themselves at Nantes, his capital, and the tapestries there soon became celebrated. He founded universities and protected literature, and it is recorded, as a proof of the prosperity of the country, that *the peasants ate out of silver vessels*, and it was general with the inhabitants of

* Hilarion de la Coste. † Journal of Louise de Savoye.

‡ "La Duchesse mit au monde au commencement de l'année 1476 une fille qui fut nommée Anne. On avoit fait venir de Rennes la Damoiselle de la Vire pour être sa nourrice, mais elle fut renvoyée et l'enfant fut donnée à nourrir à la femme de Jean Eon, aussi de Rennes, et la Dame de la Guerche fut nommée gouvernante de la petite Princesse."—*P. Lobineau, Hist. de Bretagne.*

the ports *to sleep on silken couches.** This happy state of things, which, considering the somewhat savage manners of the Bretons, would seem to be rather too poetical for fact, was soon interrupted by the imprudence and weakness of the Duke, who, always surrounded by favourites, male and female, had the misfortune, at length, to devote the whole of his affection to one object, the most unworthy of all the artful, designing, clever persons who watched for opportunities of aggrandising themselves at the expense of their sovereign's honour and the interests of the country.

The favourite, during whose reign every kind of evil was brought upon Brittany, and to whom the entire ruin of the duchy and its final extinction may be mainly attributed, was a man of low degree, named Pierre Landais. He was born at Vitré, in Brittany, in the faubourg du Rachard, and was the son of a tailor, having himself followed his father's calling, one which was at all times looked upon as peculiarly degrading in that country; but his singular talents, boldness and enterprise, soon led him to quit so mean an occupation. The Court of Brittany was frequently kept at Vitré, and, by some fortunate chance for him, he attracted the notice of Duke François, and was received into his service, in the first instance as his valet. In this capacity he had every opportunity of becoming acquainted with and studying his master's tastes and inclinations, which he took every opportunity of gratifying to the utmost of his power; his favour consequently increased rapidly,

* Archives Curieuses de l'Histoire de France. Par Cimber. Mém. Particulièr fait par une personne d'esprit.

and his rewards commenced. He was raised to the post of Secretary, and, one honour succeeding another, to the amazement and disgust of the nobles of Brittany, they, in an incredibly short space of time, beheld him at the head of affairs, named Treasurer-General, with the entire power of the revenue in his hands, lording it over the most exalted of the land, dictating to foreign Princes, setting aside his master's will, and overcoming every obstacle to his unbounded ambition. He is represented by the historians of the time* as singularly gifted with intelligence, witty, supple, ready in expedients, rapid in decision, quick in observation, and undaunted in energy; with a mind and manners altogether beyond the accident of his birth, and one of those men who seem created to astonish the world by their meteor-like appearance, for a time controlling everything around them, as if protected by some occult power which, raising them to the highest station, abandons them in an instant and leaves them to destruction.

At first, it would seem that Landais had roused the Duke from a state of voluptuous indulgence which, while he encouraged it to a certain extent, he took means to restrain, according to his own views and interests, and many acts were recommended by him which might have been salutary to the country if the loyalty of the favourite had been equal to his genius. But he was dazzled by the extreme ease with which he had conquered fortune, and when he beheld himself Prime Minister, with unlimited power, master of his master, and the arbiter of all, the height was too great for his brain, and he lost

* d'Argentré, Jean Bouchet, &c. Also Taillandier "Hist. de Bretagne, 1757."

all command of his passions. He set no bounds to his extravagance, advising and pointing out the means of indulgence to his weak and admiring patron, and Brittany—late so simple, yet so prosperous—became the theatre of every excess, and a prey to the rapacity of a host of creatures devoted to the pleasures, the ambition, and the vengeance of the tailor of Vitré.

The mild and easy character of Duke François, who had grown up amongst the Bretons, his grace and frankness, his personal beauty and the merciful disposition he had always displayed, had endeared him singularly to his people, who, while they censured his sensuality, and disapproved of his indolence, were indulgent and devoted to a Prince who could refuse nothing, and whose presence was a holiday amongst them whenever he appeared. But the Commons of Brittany were a proud as well as a turbulent race, and they saw, with mortification and anger, the astounding rise of a low-born and insolent favourite, who, though he at first appeared their friend, soon lost sight of their interests in his own; and when Landais, with unhesitating daring, attacked and insulted the nobles, whom they looked up to with veneration, a general feeling of indignation took possession of their minds. Much more bitter, fierce, and implacable was the rage of the great lords themselves towards this minion of a weak ruler, whose pride trampled them and their dignities beneath his heel, and who ridiculed their anger in the luxurious banquets where he sat, side by side with their effeminate and satisfied Duke, the real controller of their destinies. But the just resentment which animated the nobles was

of no avail. Landais became every day more and more their tyrant: the highest in the country experienced his insolence and suffered by his acts. The Maréchal de Rieux, one of the most important of the nobles who surrounded Duke François, was unable to escape his baneful influence. The Duke seemed to have given liberty to this dangerous spirit to carry his mischievous propensities wherever it pleased him, and sat by delighted with the hideous pranks played by the demon he had adopted. Meantime, Landais had, by his genius and subtlety, gained a numerous and powerful party ready and able to support him in any undertaking. He had found a congenial spirit in the low-born and cunning favourite of Louis XI., the then reigning King of France, the famous Olivier le Dain, and by his means he was able to regulate his conduct as regarded the affairs of that kingdom. He employed unscrupulous agents in every Court, and became master of secrets supposed to be inviolate. He took advantage of the fatal Wars of the Roses, then raging in England, to secure the friendship of whichever faction was, for the time, successful, and he observed with derision the futile enmity of the barons, whom he knew to be entirely "within his danger."

Amongst the most respected and beloved of the Ministers, whose counsels had formerly guided the Duke, was his Chancellor, generally called by old historians "Messire Chauvin." He was a man thoroughly upright and honourable, deeply attached to his master and his country; noble, judicious, frank, straightforward, and sincere. His influence had always stood between

the people and their wrongs, and his name was as much adored by them as it was venerated by his equals and superiors.

Of all who opposed the ruinous confidence which Duke François placed in one whose acts so clearly proved his unworthiness, no one had spoken out so resolutely as the Chancellor, and no one had ventured to represent to the Duke his fatal error in such undisguised language; consequently, Pierre Landais was perfectly aware that in Chauvin he possessed a foe, whom neither bribery nor artifice could affect, and his ruin became the necessary object of the favourite's desire. But Chauvin was as much respected and esteemed by François as by his nobles and his people, and, though easily persuaded on all other subjects, he would not hear a word that tended to the injury of so exalted and valuable a friend, as he felt the Chancellor to have always been to him. But this proper feeling of gratitude towards his worthy Minister was destined to be overcome by the art of his enemy; and the destruction of the ill-fated and excellent Chauvin was at length brought about by means of his own honesty and rectitude of feeling; his fall affording a fresh instance of the triumph of cunning and effrontery over simple dealing and probity.

The Chancellor had been sent by François on an embassy to Louis XI., who received him angrily, accusing him of an intention of betraying his interests, by his master, the Duke's, commands, who, he was well assured, was corresponding with England against him. Chauvin indignantly denied the charge, both as regarded himself and his master, on which Louis ordered Olivier, the bar-

ber, to bring him the proofs he had obtained that the accusation was based on fact. To the amazement of the honest Minister, a quantity of letters, as many as twenty-two, were produced, written to and from Edward IV. of England and the Duke of Brittany, in which France was not spared, nor her advantage considered.

Chauvin, whose honourable character was well known to Louis, and who enjoyed his discomfiture and astonishment when, carefully examining the writing, he could not doubt or deny the autographs, sorrowfully agreed that a plot had really been carried on without his knowledge. He passionately assured the King that the whole was some deep-laid scheme of the infamous Landais, and his equally culpable Secretary, who must have forged the whole correspondence, in order to ruin their master, for that the letters were genuine, although he too much feared it, he would not admit. Louis dismissed him with honour, exculpating him entirely from having had any share in the transaction, and Chauvin hastened back with all speed to Nantes, where he insisted on instantly seeing the Duke, to whom he bitterly complained of having been duped, and related the scene which had just taken place with the King, whom he considered justly offended.

François, on this, enraged and covered with confusion, sent in haste for Landais, whom he accused, in the most violent manner, of having sold him to his enemy, the King of France, a fact of which he ought long before to have been convinced.

At first, the favourite, entirely taken by surprise, lost his presence of mind and hesitated; but recovering

himself, and trusting to the weak attachment of the Duke, he suddenly threw himself at his feet and entreated to be heard. François, having exhausted his anger, did not refuse to listen, and Landais took advantage of the pause allowed him to concoct a falsehood on the spot. He declared that the unfortunate circumstance of the real correspondence having fallen into the hands of Louis was owing to no negligence of his own; that, according to the commands of the Duke, he had duly despatched the letters to King Edward and received his replies, by means of his private secretary, a man, it was true, of low condition, but whom he judged devoted and faithful to the great trust reposed in him. He professed to be amazed at finding that the true letters could have been obtained by Louis, and could only imagine that this secretary, whose name was Maurice Gourmel, had been highly bribed by some secret emissary of the artful King, and had given them up, sending to England and returning to the Duke of Brittany carefully-traced copies of the documents.

François was instantly convinced by the eloquence and cunning of his favourite, and, by his advice, sent off to the port of Brittany, from whence Gourmel at that moment was about to sail with other letters for King Edward, ordering him to be arrested instantly. Gourmel was secured and brought prisoner to Nantes, but, before he was interrogated, Landais had an interview with him, in which he promised him not only his life, but great reward, provided he followed his instructions.

Gourmel, therefore, on his examination, pretended to

confess, with much contrition, that he had betrayed his employer, Landais, and that, at Cherbourg, he had had dealings with a certain personage sent from the King of France, whose offers had induced him to allow him to copy exactly both the letters and the seals, and to become possessor of the originals.

Duke François was thoroughly convinced of the truth of this confession, although no one else was so, and Gourmel was taken away and thrown into a dungeon in the Castle of Aurai. He bore his apparent punishment with resignation, relying on the oath of Landais that he should be released, but he waited in vain for the promised mercy. Once safely hidden from sight, the alarmed favourite, who had thus evaded a danger from which there seemed no redemption, was not likely to allow his instrument to be again at large. Gourmel was shortly afterwards found *drowned* in the moat of the Castle, into which he was supposed to have fallen on endeavouring to effect his escape, and the secret of Landais' double treachery was buried with him, for the time.

Relieved from this peril, the favourite now turned his thoughts to vengeance, and with unwearied malignity he watched occasions to attack the hated Minister whose accusations had so nearly proved fatal to him.

The fate of the unfortunate Chancellor is one of the darkest spots in the history of the reign of Duke François, who abandoned his faithful servant on the most frivolous charges, permitted him to be arraigned, condemned, and imprisoned, and his large estates to pass into the hands of the insatiable favourite.

The mock trial of a man known to possess every public and private virtue was carried on by Landais' exertions, in spite of the too timid opposition of the Breton nobles, who, appalled at the extent of the power of the favourite, gave way before him and permitted this great injustice to take place. They, however, by all the pretexts that they could devise, strove to lengthen out the trial of Chauvin, hoping to gain time, and that some fortunate caprice of the Duke's might displace Landais from his high position. Meantime, the Chancellor was hurried from prison to prison, removed continually in order that his exact whereabout should not be known, and the horrors and cruelties exercised towards him, afterwards confessed by Landais himself, exceed all belief.

His family were reduced to utter destitution, his lands and castles forfeited, and the triumph of his adversary and enemy complete, for on him were all the wealth and the domains of Chauvin bestowed.

CHAPTER II.

MARRIAGES PROPOSED—PUBLIC EXPOSURE OF CHAUVIN'S BODY—ALARM AT THE CASTLE—THE NANTOIS PACIFIED—ESCAPE OF LANDAIS—DARING PROPOSITION—MISREPRESENTATION—THE TREATY OF BEAUGENCY—PROPITIOUS ACCIDENTS.

THE heiress of François, Duke of Brittany, had not yet reached her eighth year when treaties were formed for the disposal of her hand in marriage. A proposal had already been made and accepted for the Prince of Wales, which his murder cancelled, and the bridegroom now selected by the Prince of Orange, her uncle, whose influence was great with her father, was the lately widowed Maximilian, Archduke of Austria, whose young and interesting wife, Mary, Duchess of Burgundy,* had been taken from him suddenly by an accident, and left him with two children, a son and a daughter: the latter, though still an infant, was the affianced wife of the Dauphin of France, and brought up in that Court. In consequence of his marriage with an heiress of such large possessions as Mary, Maximilian had much in his power, and, to unite the possessions of Brittany to his own, was a project to which he listened with satisfaction; but

* See "Memoirs of Mary, Duchess of Burgundy," by the Author. *Bentley*, 1853.

there were many difficulties in the way: after the death of the Duchess, his Flemish subjects gave him constant uneasiness, and although he was most willing to enter into the views of the Prince of Orange, who acted in his own as well as the Archduke's interests, he was obliged to leave others to arrange the affair for him.

The object of the Prince of Orange in proposing this match, was that he felt assured of the future government of Brittany being confided to him, in case the heiress of that country did not reside there. As she would be indebted to him for raising her to the rank of Empress—for Maximilian would succeed his father in due course—he concluded that nothing would interfere with his obtaining the power he desired.

The Duke of Brittany had listened well pleased to the proposition, and Pierre Landais did not see cause to oppose it when the subject was first broached, but circumstances soon occurred which induced him to throw the whole weight of his influence into another quarter.

The Prince of Orange was amongst the most active of those who, on discovering the nature of the death of the Chancellor, Chauvin, had resolved to take signal vengeance on the author of his unmerited sufferings.

Landais had, unknown to the Duke, his master, hurried on the trial of the Chancellor as much as possible; but so many obstacles had been thrown in his way by the Commissioners appointed to hear the depositions against him, all of which were obviously false, that he began to lose patience, and intimated to two of his confidants, who had the custody of his victim, his desire that he should not only be removed continually

from prison to prison, so that his friends could never be certain where he was to be found, but that, *in case of his dying in confinement*, the news would be a relief to his own mind.

The two men, whose ready appreciation of his vague remarks saved him the danger of plainer speaking, were named Fontenelle and Vitri: they acted the parts assigned them as well as the murderers employed by Richard III., in a like position, but their mode was that of neglecting to visit their prisoner, and they thus allowed him to die, without having used outward means to procure his death.

When Landais became aware that Chauvin was no more, without inquiring in what manner, he contented himself with considering that all danger to himself was over, and immediately informed the Commissioners appointed to try the unfortunate Chancellor of the event. He was far from objecting to the usual ceremony being gone through of the body being exposed to the public gaze for a certain time, in order that the Bretons might see that he was really no more, and had not met his death unfairly. In this Landais had been too confident, for no sooner was the body beheld, than the horrible truth was too easily perceived: no one who looked upon his ghastly remains could doubt for an instant that he had been starved to death, having, even before his death, been the prey of noxious animals.*

A general burst of fury immediately arose amongst the people, and those nobles who had most cause to detest the favourite resolved to take instant advantage of it

* D'Argentré, Bouchet, &c.

for his downfall. It was supposed that Landais was at that time with the Duke, as was frequently the case, in the Château de l'Hermine, or if not, that he would be found at his own manor. Without a moment's delay, therefore, the Prince of Orange and the Maréchal de Rieux put themselves at the head of two bands of the infuriated people, and, dividing their parties, directed one to the Royal residence, and the other to the Manor of Pabotière, a beautiful sojourn, surrounded by delicious gardens, and a fine park, which the favourite had arranged according to his own taste, and where his weak master frequently delighted to visit him and forget the cares of State.

That the immediate and summary punishment of the murderer of the Chancellor Chauvin was the object of the assailants was not concealed by either party. With little difficulty one of them penetrated into the Castle of Nantes, took possession of the keys, and proclaiming their determination to put Landais to death, they commenced a furious search for him and burst violently into the Duke's private chamber, overturning furniture and examining every place capable of shrouding him from their view. The Duke looked on in amazement, and with the less dread as he knew that Landais was at his own house. Meantime, the terrified attendants rushed in all directions, and one of the archers of the guard, really alarmed for his master's safety, threw open a window which looked to the street, and called loudly for help, for that the Duke was being murdered. The citizens were instantly roused, and the panic spreading, the whole city of Nantes was soon at the gates of the

Castle, clamouring loudly for their beloved Sovereign, and threatening vengeance on those who menaced his life. Huge pieces of artillery were dragged to the spot, from all parts new succours arrived, and the insurgents who had entered the Castle in so hostile a manner, found themselves besieged and in danger of their lives.

In this emergency, they were obliged to appeal to François himself, who, always yielding and anxious to prevent the effusion of blood, consented, in spite of the insult he had received, to appear on the battlements and prove to the people that he was uninjured.

Accordingly, he stepped forward and showed himself, assuring his subjects, who recognised him with frantic enthusiasm, that no injury had been intended to his person, and he entreated them to depute several of the most in consideration amongst their body, to enter the Castle and endeavour to appease the tumult within.

The Nantois accordingly appointed on the instant, Philippe de Montauban and six of the chief citizens of the town, who conducted the affair in a masterly manner, compromising it as much as possible without placing themselves in hostility with the angry nobles, who were allowed to retire to Ancenis in vessels provided by the Duke, and thence to withdraw to Anjou.

During the confusion in the Château de l'Hermine, Pierre Landais, unconscious of his own danger, was amusing himself at play in his beautiful retreat. The tumult of the people without his gates suddenly reached the ears of his Secretary, and he instantly rushed to warn his master, who too readily divined the cause; but his presence of mind did not forsake him: he had already

provided for the possibility of the position in which he found himself, and had caused several private ways to be constructed in his park* by means of which he could escape if attacked. Having ascertained the direction of the noise which warned him, he let himself out at the opposite side of the domain, and, gaining the neighbouring fortress of Pouencé, which was in his hands, was soon in perfect safety.

But this attempt, attended with such ill success, had turned the wheel of fortune in his favour; his chief enemies were for the present disabled, Duke François was more than ever devoted to him, and he trusted that further inquiries respecting the fate of Chauvin would cease. His ready wit instantly suggested to him a means of revenge and of further aggrandisement to himself, and he resolved to make the Princess Anne the instrument to work out his plan. He was intimately acquainted with the position of affairs in France, and though the recent death of King Louis† and the just punishment of his myrmidon Olivier, had somewhat changed his relations with that Court, he knew that the Lady of Beaujeu, Regent for young King Charles,

* Some say he escaped by the fossés.—See *Taillandier.*

† Neither the Duke nor Landais trusted in the professions of Louis XI., as a proof of which, on one occasion, a merchant was arrested at Nantes charged with having been bribed by the King of France to poison the Duke by means of *poisoned caps*, which he was to sell to him. The man was arrested, and imprisoned in the tower of the Porte St. Nicolas; his head was shaved, after which he was ordered to put on all the caps in his possession. He did this fearlessly, and received no injury, on which the Duke, convinced that his suspicions were unjust, released him, with strict injunctions to keep his arrest secret, as he feared the indignation of the *innocent* Louis.—*Taillandier.*

would neither reject his agency if offered, nor lose an opportunity of seducing his influence from another, if he should bestow it on her rival, the young Duke of Orleans. His policy was, at the present moment, to keep the Regent in check and to throw his power into the scale of the Prince whom she feared the most in Europe. With this view Landais lost no time in conferring with Dunois Count de Longueville, the fast friend of the Duke of Orleans, and hazarding the step of proposing the hand of Anne of Brittany to his pupil and master, Louis, already the reluctant husband of the younger daughter of Louis XI.

It was easy to Landais to make it appear to Duke François that the object of the late attempt was not in reality to take vengeance on him, but to obtain possession of the persons of the Duke himself with the Duchess and the two Princesses, together with the young Count d'Avaugour, his natural son, to carry them prisoners to Ancenis, and thence to transfer them to France: after which he represented the intention of the traitors to have been to place the duchy in the hands of the King, to be disposed of according to his will. The claims of France upon the duchy of Brittany were sufficiently known to Duke François, and, from the time he had been proclaimed, he had had to struggle against them; but of late, since the accession of Charles VIII., and the regency of his ambitious sister, Anne de Beaujeu, the pretensions of the Suzerain kept him continually in agitation, and he was aware that no means would be left untried to obtain the coveted power.

Impressed with this notion, François at once, con-

sidering Landais as the saviour of his country, granted him unlimited powers, and issued a decree declaring the goods of all those concerned in the late conspiracy confiscated: forbidding his subjects to afford them any assistance, and commanding their arrest wherever they were found, in order to bring them to trial as rebels and State criminals.

When this decree became known to the nobles of Brittany, finding that there was no hope of separating Duke François from his dangerous and politic Minister, they resolved upon a step which placed them precisely in the position which the astuteness of Landais had foreseen, and of which he had accused them before the fact. They repaired in a body to King Charles, at Montargis, and there, in a conference with the Regent Anne, in whose hands was the entire power, they offered to acknowledge the claims of France on Brittany, after the death of François, to the exclusion of his two daughters, Anne and Isabeau.

It was agreed in the treaty then made, that justice should be administered to the people of Brittany, without any change of the customs under their Dukes; that Breton nobles should have the command of the great towns, that a governor should be appointed by the King, submitted to the choice of the States, that the King, on making his entry into Rennes, should swear to observe all the articles, and that in case of the King, or his successors, having more than one son, one of those Princes should be appointed as Duke of Brittany. On these propositions being agreed to, Madame de Beaujeu promised that France would sustain the

barons against the odious Minister who oppressed the country.

When Landais found that all was thus ready to his hand, and that, by their present act, the nobles had made enemies of the whole country, which revolted from the idea of being tributary to France, he no longer concealed from Duke François his opinion relative to the policy of securing the friendship of the Duke of Orleans by the offer of an alliance with his eldest daughter. The obstacle of that Prince having a wife living was looked upon as easy to remove, as it was well known that Louis of Orleans had been constrained by the tyranny of the late King to take his daughter, and that he entertained a repugnance to her, openly avowed.

CHAPTER III.

THE THREE COMPETITORS—ANNE DE BEAUJEU—MARGUERITE OF AUSTRIA—RECEPTION OF THE DAUPHINE—THE INVITATION—THE FIRST MEETING—THE LITTLE PRINCESS AND HER LOVER—RETURN OF ORLEANS—THE REGENT'S POLICY—THE ÉTATS GÉNÉRAUX—SPEECH OF PHILIPPE POT—SUFFERINGS OF THE PEOPLE—ABUSES—MASSELIN'S SPEECH—ROYAL SINCERITY.

THE position of affairs in France at the period when these events were taking place in Brittany was this: At the death of Louis XI., and the accession of Charles VIII., the latter was in his fourteenth year, but had been so much kept back by his jealous father that he appeared scarcely out of his infancy. Louis had named his eldest sister, Anne, married to the Count de Beaujeu, the brother of the Duke de Bourbon, Regent during his minority, but she had to sustain the violent opposition to this decree of the heads of two powerful factions who insisted on a superior right to the post she claimed. These were the Duke de Bourbon, her brother-in-law, and the Duke of Orleans, next heir to the Crown, then about twenty, and a Prince possessing qualities of the highest order, adored by the people, and surrounded by a party entirely devoted to his interests. But Louis of Orleans was too young for the important charge which he insisted on as his right: his ardent tempera-

ment and dangerous boldness unfitted him for the task, and, while almost every person in the country desired to see him at the head of affairs, those who were unbiassed could not but acknowledge that his youth and inexperience were obstacles in the way. The mentor and friend, who acted towards him as a father, was his cousin-germain François d'Orleans Count de Longueville, son of the famous Dunois, inheritor of all his father's fine qualities, with genius, worth, and wisdom of his own superadded. Although ambitious for his cousin, and resolute to defend his rights, his greater knowledge of the world and his forethought taught him how to direct with judgment and to watch his opportunities. He conceived that his cousin was injured by not having been named Regent, and he was ready to take advantage of circumstances to place him in his proper position.

The Duke de Bourbon was advanced in life, a man of noble and upright mind, who desired the direction of affairs as much for the public good as for his own exaltation. He considered that a woman and a boy were both unfit to govern, and that his mature years gave him a just claim to the protection of the kingdom.

But while the daughter of Louis XI. was looked upon with suspicion and dislike by the country in general, it was impossible to deny her amazing ability, her wisdom in affairs of State, her knowledge of political resources, and her fitness for the office to which she had been called. Anne de Beaujeu was the most remarkable woman of her time; possessing all her father's astuteness, much of his cunning and unscrupulousness, she surpassed him in many respects. Yielding to the

time, and taking advantage of events, ambitious as she was, and devoted to power, she still allowed herself to be guided by circumstances, and did not obstinately persist in her own will when she saw that to give way was the better policy. Though haughty and revengeful, she knew when to repress her feelings, and how to court popularity without the loss of dignity. If not loved, she could make herself admired as well as feared, and she proved, by her acts, that she understood the interests she was delegated to defend.

The long and oppressive reign of Louis XI. had been impatiently endured by the people; and now that a new era opened, a reaction took place, and a bold assertion of their rights ensued—the less dangerous to them as the country was divided into factions, each so powerful that they felt they might rely on one at least to support them in opposition to the others.

The young King Charles was, at this time, considered married, although his bride was still an infant: he had previously been contracted to the daughter of Edward IV. of England, but events had altered his father's policy respecting the match, whose object, in the first instance, had been to engage Edward IV. against his old enemy, the house of Burgundy, and the chief article of the famous treaty of Pecquigny was, that the infant Princess and the Dauphin should be united. But Louis cared little for his word when a greater interest required him to break it. The loss of Burgundy, of which he had thought himself secure, when its young heiress threw herself into the arms of Duke Maximilian, deeply mortified him. But again his hopes revived when the re-

volted Gantois offered him the hand of the daughter of their widowed Duke, with whom they were carrying on an obstinate struggle, and he at once closed with the offer, and gave all the promises requisite, as if his contract with Edward had never existed—a proceeding by no means unusual at the time, but considered a part of the policy of all the Princes who had children to dispose of.

In Oct., 1482, Louis XI. had sealed the peace with the Netherlands by the proposed marriage of his heir with Marguerite, the daughter of Maximilian. Te Deum was sung in all the Churches of the kingdom, and feux de joie lighted up the town of Tours. Monsieur and Madame de Beaujeu had been sent to Picardy to fetch the infant bride, accompanied by a Court of great ladies.

The Ambassadors from Flanders had been well satisfied with the feasts and presents of the King, and had twice seen the Dauphin at Amboise, who received them "humainement,"* and nothing but festivities went on for some days.

* Marguerite of Austria, then three years old, was accordingly sent to the Court of France, to be brought up under the care of Charlotte of Savoye, mother of the Dauphin, as his future wife, and Edward of England was left to protest against the bad faith of Louis of France. Maximilian was scarcely less irritated at the cavalier manner in which the Gantois had disposed of his daughter, without his being consulted, and though her position, as future Queen of France, was one he could not object to, he was indignant at the little respect shown to himself or the grandchild of the Emperor in the whole proceeding. If he had seen cause to agree to this union, he would have preferred that his daughter, to whom, even then, it appears he was much attached, should have remained under his own eye at Brussels till she was of age, to be claimed by her bridegroom. During the lifetime of Louis XI., the bereaved father had openly complained of this proceeding, but the King had treated his applications with contempt. On the accession of Charles, circumstances were changed; there was not likely to be the same hostility, and Maximilian

The young bride of Charles was duly received in Paris with all the honours usually paid to a Dauphine, on the 2nd June, 1483. There was a deliberation as to whether Anne de Beaujeu was to be met by the Court of Parliament as it was usual to meet a Queen, but after some consideration it was agreed that the same honours were not to be paid to her; but the Dauphine Marguerite was to be royally met. Commands were issued that in order to avoid a press, no pages or followers on horseback were to be allowed on pain of imprisonment.

The counsellors and advocates, and all the train, accordingly repaired to the "Windmill," at the Porte St. Denis, there to meet the Countess de Beaujeu, and her charge. They were then conducted to the Church of Nôtre Dame, and from thence by water to the Palais des Tournelles, Rue St. Antoine.* The reception was "very grand and very honourable:" the streets through which the Dauphine passed being hung with tapestry, and many moralities played in divers places—"the people praising God the Creator, the King, the Queen, Monseigneur the Dauphin, and Madame the Dauphine."

Amongst the wonders displayed on scaffolds, at a variety of stations, were the effigies of two beautiful children, dressed in white damask, to represent the young bride and bridegroom, in addition to which "Monseigneur de Beaujeu et Madame sa femme" figured, together with the King himself, whose dress

was induced, either willingly or otherwise, to leave his daughter at the French Court, under the guardianship of Anne de Beaujeu, the Regent, and her husband.

* Ceremonial François.

was probably left to the taste of the dollmaker on this occasion.

To do more honour to this *happy marriage*, all the prisoners of Paris* were set at liberty. The marriage took place at Amboise in July following.

The Duke of Orleans, on receiving the friendly letters addressed to him by the Duke of Brittany, dissatisfied with his position at Court, and anxious to secure so powerful an ally, did not require the strong recommendation of Dunois to agree at once to accept the invitation.

Dunois was the more anxious that his cousin should take this step, and at once secure the friendship of the Duke of Brittany, as he foresaw that if a marriage with the Princess Anne could be brought about, there would be the less difficulty in recovering for his pupil his hereditary duchy of Milan, usurped by the Sforzas—a project as much pursued by Dunois as by the young Duke himself.

Dunois and the Duke of Orleans were accompanied to Brittany by the Duke d'Alençon, the near relative and intimate friend of the latter, and together they were received with singular welcome by François, and his now more than ever powerful and exulting Minister, Landais, whose popular manners and talents, exerted to the utmost on this occasion, delighted and dazzled the young Prince, whose adherence he wished to gain. The Duke conversed confidentially on his affairs, exposed his wrongs and begged the support of the Duke of Orleans against his revolted nobles, which was promptly and

* Perhaps those for debt only is to be understood.

generously promised, and all was harmony amongst the fast friends, thus brought together by mutual grievances.

That the Duke of Orleans should at this early time, and under such circumstances, have taken a fancy to the beautiful and interesting little girl of eight years old, who was now presented to him as his probable bride hereafter, is by no means unlikely, nor is it impossible that the Princess, child as she was, but represented by all historians as remarkably precocious in intellect, should have, even then, felt a regard for the fascinating and handsome young cavalier who did his utmost to please her, and whom she was told to treat with distinction.

This was their first meeting, and, although the most unlooked-for events came between and separated them for years, they probably never forgot that earliest interview which was surrounded with so many charms.*

Meantime, the Regent had become uneasy at the absence of the Duke of Orleans, and she was possessed with the fear that his resentment at the opposition he had met with would cause him to throw himself into the ranks of the enemies of France; no sooner, therefore, did she discover that he was in Brittany than her anxiety was roused and she resolved to detach him from the dangerous Minister whose cunning powers of persuasion she dreaded.

Without loss of time, she accordingly sent off friendly messages to the visitors at the Court of Brittany, requiring their immediate return to be present at the coronation of the King at Rheims, the preparations for which she

* See Appendix.

hurried on for the purpose of preventing the prolongation of the dangerous intimacy. The secret of the proposed alliance she had not divined, but it was her object that the Duke of Brittany should not secure the good offices of the Orleans party against the revolted barons whose cause she had espoused.

Louis of Orleans, on receiving the message of the Regent, saw through her artifice, but, at the same time, he was well aware that his own interests would not permit him to disobey the orders of the King; and, however reluctant, he was forced to take a hasty leave of his new friends and the young object of so many hopes, and, much to the vexation of Landais, who feared to lose sight of so powerful an ally, was compelled to return to France, and be present at the ceremony at Rheims, which was conducted with infinite pomp, and the entry* of the young King into Paris was attended with magnificence the more remarkable that all such pageantry had long been laid aside by the gloomy and suspicious tyrant whom this amiable Prince had replaced.†

* Charles VIII. is described at his entrée to have behaved with as much dignity and propriety as a man of fifty. After hearing the citizens' address, he put his hand to his hat and said, "Grand mercy, Messieurs, keeping then, and throughout the procession, 'un tres honnête maintien.'"—MS.

† The power of the Kings of France to touch pour la maladie des écrouelles, comes through the merits of a "glorious Saint" of Royal lineage, St. Marcoul, whose relics, kept in a priory belonging to the Church of St. Remy, near Rheims, attracted formerly a great multitude of pilgrims, who believed themselves cured by the visit. It was usual for the Monarch, after his coronation, to pay his devotions at this shrine, when the same power was granted them as the Saint had possessed in his lifetime.

This was a great opportunity for Anne de Beaujeu to provide for her own popularity, and she took her measures so well, by acts of mercy shown to those who had fallen under the displeasure of her father, and by punishing those who were detested by the people,* that she prepared the way for the triumph to which all her energies were directed—that of being proclaimed undoubted regent and governor, in her brother's name, to the exclusion of her rivals. This consummation soon followed, and her power was firmly established.

Charles VIII. touched with the sign of the cross, three days after his coronation, six who were *said* to be sick, and gave the prayers and benediction au moyen desquelles ont été et sont gueris."—MS.

" Vielles rimes par un poète de ci temps là. Entrée de Charles VIII. à Paris :—

Le Roy estoit à *la Chapelle*
A demie lieue près de Paris
Onques assemblée ne vis telle
Laquelle J'apperçeux et vis,
Gens y venoeint de tout Pays
Pour voire ceste noble entrée
Il ne faut point parler du prix
Il en vint de toute contrée."

—*Ceremonial François.*

* Olivier le Dain and his accomplices were the first on whom condign punishment fell. It is rather remarkable that the possessions of the barber were granted to the Duke of Orleans.—See Preuves des Mem. de Comines, tirées des Recueils de M. l'Abbé le Grand : " Par lettres données à Arras au mois d'Avril, 1478, et du rêgne le dix septieme le feu Roy avoit uni la Baronne de Neaufle le Chastel au Comté de Montfort, en faveur du Duc de Bretagne, et l'avoit separée du ressort du Comté de Meulant ce qu'Olivier, le Mauvais Barbier, Valet de Chambre du Roy, avoit empesché; mais Charles VIII. en gratifia le Duc de Bretagne, Comté de Montfort, par lettres données à Tours le cinq de May, 1483 (ou 1484), du rêgne le premier.

Nota que Olivier le Mauvais ou le Dain, vivoit encore.

Don a M. le Duc d'Orleans de tous les biens meubles et immeubles d'Olivier le Dain condamné par Arrêt du Parlement à estre pendru pour ses demerites. Donné à Meaux en Brie 24 May, 1484, registré 14 Aoust."

It was in January, 1484, that a convocation was called, at Tours, of the Etats Généraux, to decide the question of the Regency. The deputies were elected by assemblies in which the three orders of the people seemed to have voted in common. These deputies afterwards divided themselves into six parts, and then voted singly, not according to their order. The discourse of these deputies and the list of their grievances present a curious picture of the moral and political position of the country at the time.

Comines appears to have shrunk from giving a full account of this convocation, fearing to offend in high places; but there exists a manuscript in the Bibliothèque Impériale, written by Jean Masselin, an official of the Archbishop of Rouen, and deputé de bailliage of that city, who was one of the members of this national assembly, which ventured in such a time to proclaim the same principles that, three hundred years later, triumphed in France, after so long a series of oppressions and continuous struggles.

The first question which was discussed on this occasion was, that of the government of the country, and some deputies having advanced that *the law* assigned the Regency to Princes of the Blood, a Burgundian Deputy, Philippe Pot, Seigneur de le Roche* rose in his

* A popular French song has the following refrain :—

Mon père était broc,
Ma mère était pot,
Ma grand—mére était pente.

This apparently nonsensical rhyme is of great antiquity, like many of those still preserved in the games of children in the country, both in France and England. It is part of a satirical poem, written in ridicule of the marriage of a daughter of the house of Montmorency with the son of

place, from which he could command the whole of the Assembly: "Of what law are you speaking?" demanded he, "who made it? who published it? you have read it nowhere. But, you will say, the State, then, is to remain without a head during a minority? Certainly not: in such a case, the States General deliberate, and without themselves exercising the power, they confide it to those they consider the most competent. When Philippe de Valois and Edward III. were contending for the Crown, they submitted to the arbitration of the States, which pronounced in favour of Philippe. When King Jean was prisoner in England the States did not immediately confer the Regency on the Dauphin Charles, although he was past twenty: it was two years later that, by their consent, he became Regent. When Charles VI. inherited the throne, it was the States which settled the Regency. This is a fact of which witnesses remain.

"Do you not know that public power (la chose publique) means the power of the people? That kings hold it from the people; that those who have possessed it by other means than by their consent, have been reputed tyrants and usurpers of the possessions of others. Now, what I call *the people* is not the lower orders, or subjects of any denomination, but *the men of all the States.* I think, therefore, that, in the name of the States General is comprised the Princes themselves, nor do I conceive that any who inhabit the kingdom are excluded."

The Deputies, without explicitly pronouncing on this

the rich counsellor Philippe Pot; she died in 1494.—*Magazin Pittoresque,* 1836.

question, which was energetically disputed, decided that the King should himself govern according to the deliberations of his Council, conjointly with twelve members of the States who should be appointed. They left to the Dame de Beaujeu the care of the King's person, which was, in fact, conferring the Regal power upon her.

The grievances which required consideration, and regarding which petitions were presented, exhibit the sufferings of the people in a distressing light.

"As for the lower orders (menu peuple), it is impossible to imagine the persecutions, poverty, and misery which they have suffered, and still suffer, in a thousand ways (maintes manières). The soldiers are paid to prevent oppression, and it is they who are the greatest oppressors. The poor labourer is obliged to pay the very person who beats him, turns him out of his domicile, makes him sleep on the bare ground, and deprives him of his subsistence. The soldier, not contented with what he finds in the hut of the labourer, constrains him, by violent ill-treatment and blows, to fetch for his use, from the neighbouring town, wine, white bread, fish, spice, and other luxuries; and, but for the help of God, who gives counsel and patience to the poor, they must die in despair.

"Who could ever have imagined or conceived that people called Frenchmen could be thus treated! We must consider their condition worse than that of the serf; for a serf is fed, while these people are crushed with charges which they have no means of meeting. Some, unable to endure their state, have fled to England, Brittany, and elsewhere; but others have died of famine in countless

numbers; others, in their despair, have killed their wives, their children, and themselves, seeing that they had no hope. Many, their cattle being taken from them, are compelled to work like beasts of burthen, with the yoke on their necks; others labour in the night time, for fear of being arrested in the daylight for the taxes! (tailles.)"*

Another petition presented required that the great pensions of the nobility should be suppressed or greatly reduced, for thus ran the argument, "Frequently these pensions are paid with the money taken from the purse of the labourer, whose children are begging at the gates of those who receive it, and the very dogs are often fed with the bread bought with the hard earnings of the unfortunate poor."†

The Deputies, amongst other things, require numerous reforms, as regards the selling of places, a practice extremely common; it was usual when a place was vacant to sell it to the best bidder. Again, a reform is insisted on in the matter of trial for crime: "In former times as soon as a man was accused he was hung; he was apprehended and carried away from the local courts, given up to the Provost des Maréchands, or whatever Commissioners happened to be on the spot, and executed at once. *It seems to the States that such practices ought to cease.*"‡

The Deputies consider that no man ought to be deprived of his office *without reasonable cause*, "for he who is in continual doubt relative to his office cannot be depended on to do his duty."‖

* Masselin, MS. † Ib. ‡ Ib. ‖ Ib.

Free-trade is advocated very warmly "that merchandise should be free and liberal throughout the kingdom, and that it should be permitted to merchants to trade as well out of the kingdom as within it, both by land and sea."*

Masselin spoke at all times with great talent, force, firmness, and was a most effective pleader for those who deputed him to set forth their requirements. On one occasion, when he had been named speaker by the Assembly, and the King was there in person, he thus addressed him:—

"Sire,—We desire that our efforts should not remain sterile, and that the application of those measures indicated by us for the general good, and in the interests of all, should not be eluded. What a humiliation to France if our solemn Assembly should have no result but the having assisted at a vain spectacle!

"We are accused of wishing *to cut the King's nails and to count the bits to him.* We are belied. We have been commanded by the King himself; it is he who has given us liberty to lay before him freely and boldly the evils of the nation. Advocates of the popular cause, we have spoken with the energy befitting loyal defenders, but without unbecoming violence. We cannot but consider that we show ourselves good citizens and faithful subjects in stipulating for the interests of the country, which is also the interest of the King."

The Chancellor Guillaume de Rochefort, after having passed a most pompous eulogium on the labours of the Assembly, appealed to the King in these words—"Sire,

* Masselin, MS.

do you avow what I have said in your name?" To which the reply of Charles was, "I avow it."

No doubt many reforms were made in consequence of these energetic representations, but though the King agreed to all, and promised to convoke the Assembly every two years, he reigned fifteen without once again calling the States General together.

CHAPTER IV.

POPULARITY — THE KING'S ENTRY INTO ROUEN — VISIT TO THE LAW COURTS—THE PRIVILÈGE OF ST. ROMAIN—THE ECHIQUIER—THE SAINT AND THE DRAGON—THE PRISONER—CORNELAY—THE PROVOST—LA LEVÉE DE LA FIERTÉ—THE PROCESSION—SUCCESS OF THE SOLEMNITY.

Anne de Beaujeu, anxious to divert the young King, as well as to render him popular with the people, was desirous of letting him be seen amongst his subjects as much as possible: she was also careful to detain the Duke of Orleans at Court, in order that she might the better watch the proceedings of his party, and keep them in check by interruptions which might impede their operations. She therefore encouraged all progresses and fêtes, and took care to excite the King to visit his towns, his natural shyness at the beginning of his reign requiring her to lead him to even those amusements in which he delighted.

She was, therefore, continually proposing visits to the provinces, and, as Rouen was a city of extreme importance, she resolved to conduct him there, with all his Court, accompanying him herself, with her ladies, whose attractions she did not lose sight of as a means to keep the young nobles together. A Royal visit was a thing expected by the citizens of Rouen, and they duly appre-

ciated the honour: some occurrences during that of Charles, are curious as a picture of the time.

Just at the period of his arrival at Rouen, the celebrated Court called l'Echiquier du Parquet held its sittings for the assizes, and both the people and the Judges looked upon it as a happy circumstance that the King and all his Court should come to the town at the moment when the solemn meeting was about to take place.

It was the 14th April that the new King entered the city, with the intention of taking up his abode there for a time. After the gloom of the late reign, and the meagre and mean appearance of the late Court, it was like an enchanted scene to the citizens to behold a young Prince, prancing gaily on a spirited steed, full of life, youth, and pleasure, adventurous and confiding, as became his age, dazzling in his Royal costume, himself dazzled by his unaccustomed splendour, and, if not handsome in his person, possessing a grace of manner and a loveliness of aspect which promised blessings such as all had long been strangers to.*

The town of Rouen, desirous to show him every possible honour, spared no invention to divert and welcome their new Sovereign. The citizens had equipped in the richest vestments a troop of twenty-four young men of about the King's own age, sons of the tradespeople and merchants, and had mounted them on horses gaily caparisoned. This brilliant troop met the King on his entry, and followed him as a guard of honour: the gay cavalcade, at which Charles was extremely delighted, was headed by le Roy d'Yvetot, Captain of

* Historie du Privilège de St. Romain. Par A. Pluquet, 1833, Rouen.

the Bridge of Rouen, who carried the keys of the town.* Nothing could equal the lively and sparkling appearance of the whole party, who were mutually pleased with each other.

On the 18th of April, Charles took the seat which had been prepared for him, as Chief Magistrate at the Cour d'Echiquier, surrounded by his whole Court, and attended by his Chancellor and Ministers.

The Chancellor, in an harangue to the Magistrates assembled, then reminded them of the sacred duties they had to perform,† remarking that the King, wishing to do honour to the Court, had come in person to preside.

Charles was so much interested with his first visit, that he repeated it without ceremony for several days, taking his seat amongst the Judges, and listening with great attention to the business of the Court. He had been told of the remarkable custom which at the fête of the Ascension took place at Rouen, and he was anxious to be witness to the whole ceremony. This custom was called Le Privilège de St. Romain, and it was always expected, if a King of France passed through the town at the period, that he should afford his countenance to the ancient tradition which was so beloved by the people. Nothing could be conceived more congenial to the young King than to give his consent to the request made, and his curiosity and excitement were much gratified with the details.

It was the usage that what was called the privilege

* Chron. MS. Entry of Charles VIII. into Rouen.—*Bib. Impériale.*

† "A garder les droiz des Eglises, des femmes, des veufves, les droiz du Roy ainsy que subjectz y estes, selon les loiz et coustumes."—*Archives.*

should be *insinuated* in the great hall of the Echiquier —that is, that the right claimed by the clergy of Rouen should be asserted before the Judges, on a certain day, by ten Canons of the Church. Accordingly, when they were all assembled, and the King seated, the customary arrival of the Canons was announced, followed by the order for their admission. A procession then advanced along the great hall, consisting of the Canons and Chaplains of Nôtre Dame de Rouen, and the frères servans of the Brotherhood of St. Romain.

Seldom had it happened before that this priestly party found themselves before so imposing an assembly as the present. Placed in solemn state were ranged all the barons, bishops, abbés, and priors of Normandy; all the baillies, procureurs du Roi, the vicomtes,* verdiers, and other officers of justice, that sat crowding against each other on benches in the body of the hall, which, spacious as it was, could scarcely afford them room. Above this multitude of noble personages sat the Maîtres d'Echiquier, with a Bishop and a civil President at their head. On seats still higher were placed Louis, Duke of Orleans, the Duke of Bourbon, Constable of France; the Duke of Lorraine, a newly-arrived guest; the Sire de Beaujeu, husband of the Regent; the Count de Richmond, then newly-arrived in Normandy, after his shipwreck on his return from his expedition to England; the Count de Vendôme, the Seigneur de Bresse, the Count d'Albret, the pretender to the hand of the heiress of Brittany, the

* The Vicomtes of Rouen held an important office as regarded the shipping interest. Leading from the Quay there still exists the Rue de la Vicomté.

Prince of Orange, the Count de Riquebourg, and the Chancellor of France. Above all these, under a dais, "séant en sa chaire," sat King Charles, attentive and full of expectation, while Estienne Tuvache, the Chancellor and Chief Canon of the Cathedral, made his appointed address:—

"Sire," said he, "we, in the utmost humility, represent to you the privilege which from great antiquity is allowed to the Church of Rouen, through the merits and deserts of the blessed St. Romain. This great Saint, while he was Archbishop of Rouen, delivered the town and country round from a serpent or dragon which devoured every day several persons, to the singular desolation of the said country, the which serpent or dragon was, by virtue from God, put under such subjection by the Saint that he delivered the town from peril. It so happened that most persons, fearing death from the monster, refused to accompany St. Romain on his expedition in search of the dragon; but he found two prisoners condemned to death for their misdemeanors, who were appointed to go along with him. One, however, turned back, but the other went on, and St. Romain, coming to where the beast or serpent was, put his scarf about its neck, and gave it to be led by the said prisoner who had accompanied him, which he did as far as the bridge of the Seine,* from whence the monster was cast into the river, and from henceforth could do no more evil or harm to the people. For this

* There was no bridge at the time the custom was first established, which is one of the circumstances that proves at how late a date the legend was manufactured.

cause *the King of that time* granted that, in the name of God and the said blessed St. Romain, a prisoner should on this day be delivered."

While the canon was speaking, the King and all the young nobles listened with breathless attention to this marvellous recital, which had, of course, all the charm of a fairy tale to their inexperienced ears. After a short pause, the Churchman resumed:—

"It was hence ordained that, in future, no prisoner in the prisons of Rouen, should be interrogated, *questioned*, molested, or transported elsewhere, until the said privilege shall have taken place and had its effect."

In conclusion, the speaker requested that the King would give orders that the keys should be delivered to his party in order that they might, according to established custom, visit the prisons, and see who were there confined. All the usual ceremonies having then been gone through, the keys were delivered by the Procureur du Roi, and this part of the business was ended, much to the excitement of all present, who knew that much more was still in store for them.

It so happened that the presence of the King himself in the town had that year provided a prisoner for the occasion of the privilege. Rouen was crowded to overflowing with the attendants and retainers of the Court, and, if their masters were young, thoughtless, and turbulent, it was not to be expected that their followers would be less so. In fact, the peaceable inhabitants who had been at first so delighted with the honour done them by the Royal visit, had reason to wish it terminated, for the licence and insolence of the servants of the nobles

were the cause of serious annoyance to all. An occurrence took place, owing to this state of things, which is thus related.

On the 2nd of May, two grooms, belonging to the stables of the Admiral of France, lodged in the faubourg St. Gervais, called to a young man of the town, engaged with them, named Cornelay, and desired him to take from one of them a pair of pincers which he held. The young man, without apprehending danger, immediately took hold of the pincers which the other presented to him, when he found them red hot at the end he had seized, and his hands were consequently dreadfully burnt. Not relishing this rough practical joke, nor the jeers of the two men, he overwhelmed them with invectives, which they certainly richly deserved.

Several hours after this, the two grooms, who were highly incensed at the epithets applied to them, by a person whom they considered their inferior, returned to the same spot on horseback, when they commenced a dance round and round the unfortunate individual, their horses kicking him without mercy, while they amused themselves by shouting and jeering with all their might. Irritated beyond endurance, Cornelay, armed with a thick stick, which he was holding, attacked his cowardly persecutors, and, by an unlucky blow, felled one of them to the earth. The man was mortally wounded, and died the next night.

The following morning, the Chapter being assembled, news was brought them of what had happened at St. Gervais, that Cornelay was arrested, and that the Royal Provost was about to have him executed. Not a mo-

ment was to be lost, or the Church would lose her privilege; and the Chapter hastened to send a deputation to the Provost, informing him that he could not do so without infringing on the rights of St. Romain. They thought to impress the fact the more by mentioning that the privilege had only just been asserted before the King himself.

But the inexorable Provost paid no attention to the churchmen and only gave for answer that the culprit was about to be judged and should be put to death without delay. In fact, two or three days after, sentence was passed upon Cornelay and a cart was already at the door of the prison, the executioner was in attendance, and the guards were menacing the gaoler who had refused to give up the prisoner. A violent altercation ensued, when an order suddenly arrived from the Provost to suspend proceedings, as the will of the King was that the privilege of St. Romain should not be infringed. The Echiquier had, on hearing of the event, petitioned the King to that effect, and the prisoner was to be given into their power forthwith.

Cornelay was thus rescued, for the time, from the summary justice of the Provost, and a chance remained for his life, as it was ordered that he should remain in prison till after the fête of the Ascension. The whole town now became agitated and took an interest in his fate, for the circumstances of his provocation were certainly an excuse for his crime; he was, besides, a native of Rouen, and had been insulted by strangers. There was also another consideration in his favour: the people of Rouen were jealous that for many years, under the

English domination, the privilege had been often claimed by aliens, and they had seldom derived benefit from it.

The ceremony attending the privilege was called La Levée de la Fierté (the reliquary), because the rescued prisoner was bound to help carry the shrine of the Saint in procession through the town; this ceremony the young King was particularly anxious to behold, and all, even to the providing a culprit, seemed propitious to his wish. It appears that amongst the several prisoners who might be eligible for this mercy, the Chapter decided, after due deliberation, on the one most deserving of it, and in this instance Cornelay had the fortunate chance. In order that the Royal party should be gratified in their desire to the fullest extent, the order of the procession was changed, that it might pass the windows of the Château, where Charles, Anne de Beaujeu, and her ladies, and all the nobles of the Court, were placed.

One of the chroniclers of the time recounts the particulars, and dwells much on the delight of the King and his party at the beauty and singularity of the procession. All the parishes of Rouen sent deputies, who walked with their banners displayed, and all the crosses and shrines of every Church were put in requisition. In the midst of all walked the prisoner, bearing the shrine of St. Romain; he was crowned with flowers, and was preceded by a band of young girls in white, also wearing garlands.

The monks of St. Ouen and of the priory of St. Lo, by order of the King, swelled the procession by their

numbers; and, above the heads of all, were conspicuous the *two** celebrated gargouilles, or monsters, for which Rouen was famous, and the sight of which made the people wild with joy. The procession was headed by the Bishop in full costume, and the whole cortége defiled slowly through the court of the Castle, entering at one gate and making their exit at another.

Nothing could have succeeded better than the whole solemnity, and Rouen,† the city of the hundred towers,

* Rouen had an especial standard with a dragon, which the Virgin treads under her feet; the other represents the Bête of St. Romain, so *easily* tamed by the Saint's prayers. The legend was *invented* about the time of Henry II. of England, several centuries after the custom of delivering a prisoner on Ascension-day was instituted. Nothing is said of a dragon or a miracle in the earliest accounts; but, at the time when it was necessary to impose on the people, in order to secure t menaced power of the Church, this *allegory of sin* was first introduced. Louis De Sacy, Adrien Baillet, the jurisconsulte Bouthillier, and the historian De Thou, all reject the antiquity of the legend. A great struggle always took place at Rouen between the lawyers and the Church on the subject; for criminals of desperate character sometimes escaped by means of this privilege.

The custom of delivering prisoners at stated times is of great antiquity. The Christian Emperors of Constantinople, who followed many of the habits and opinions of the Pagan Romans, ordained that at the fête of Easter the prisons should be opened to prisoners who had been unable, in the course of the year, to profit by other opportunities. This usage was afterwards introduced amongst the French, with the same defects.

M. Leber, in noticing this in his "Recherches," remarks, "Ceci rappelle la délivrance de Barrabas et le prisonnier dont le peuple de Jerusalem avait le droit de demander la liberté à la fête de Pâque."

In France, for several centuries, the presence of the King at Rheims was a signal for the release of prisoners; and by an excess of charity to culprits, the custom of sanctuary became abused all over the kingdom. Louis XII., by one of his wise regulations, abolished it altogether.—*Leber.*

† Several other Churches of France boasted of a similar privilege of delivering a prisoner: as at Orleans, at Laon, at Vendôme, and also in some churches in Paris; but they did not provide themselves with a dragon and a miracle, and are much less celebrated than this of St.

as it has been called, long retained the memory of the event, and of the joyous visit of the young King of fifteen.

Romain, the memory of which is still preserved at Rouen in the splendid painted windows of the cathedral.

CHAPTER V.

ANNE DE BEAUJEU'S INCLINATION—RENÉ DE LORRAINE—THE JEU DE PAUME—IMPRUDENT WORDS—FLIGHT OF THE DUKE—HIS FRIENDS—THE CITY OF ORLEANS—THE KING BEFORE BEAUGENCY—THE RETURN TO PARIS.

It will be acknowledged that Anne de Beaujeu had much to contend with, and there can be no doubt that she met her difficulties with a masculine spirit, and a mind above her sex. The weaknesses of her character were few, but superior as she was in most particulars, she was unable to subdue entirely all the feelings of her heart, repressed as they had habitually been by her father's will, and by her own policy. Her marriage had been as much forced upon her as that of her unfortunate sister, Jeanne, and when her father proposed both, it has been thought that she believed and wished that the Duke of Orleans had been the bridegroom destined for her. It is even asserted that she did not attempt to conceal her preference from its object, but that he unceremoniously made it known that he was equally averse to the alliance with either sister.

The circumstances under which Louis XI., spitefully amused at the consternation he was spreading around,

obliged his two daughters to become the wives of men to whom they were indifferent, if not averse, are too well known to need repetition; but from the time that the impatient Duke of Orleans became the husband of her sister, the Princess Jeanne, Anne de Beaujeu's inclination for him appears to have changed to aversion, and her chief aim seems to have been to thwart and mortify him in every possible manner, not only in important things, in which she had obtained the triumph, but in trifles, by means of which she could make him writhe beneath her power.

Young, handsome, graceful, gallant, and bold, he was looked upon as unrivalled at the Court of France, and in order to show how little she held those qualities in esteem she fixed upon a rival, whom she resolved to place in opposition to the idol to whom general homage was paid. This rival was a Prince, who though but little older than Louis of Orleans, had distinguished himself as a warrior of tried courage. He had conquered in the terrible battle of Nancy the renowned Duke of Burgundy, Charles le Téméraire, and his fame had been established on the downfall of that rash and headstrong Prince.

This hero, whom Anne de Beaujeu delighted to honour, was René of Lorraine,* whose reputation had

* It was on the subject of the favour shown by Anne de Beaujeu to René de Lorraine, and on her granting him important estates in France, which he claimed on trifling ground, that Guillaume Coquillart, a satirical and popular poet of the time, composed four ballads, which were much in vogue, called "Ballades sur les Verds Manteaux," alluding to the colour of the livery of Lorraine.—*Notes to Godefroy's Edition of Comines.* London and Paris. 4to. 1747.

been gained almost by accident, and who, except in exterior accomplishments, was far from deserving to be compared to Louis of Orleans. René, who had been entreated by the Venetians to assist them against the Milanais and Florentines, was paid higher for his services by them than any General had ever yet been, and Anne offered him yet greater advantages if he would enter the service of France. His arrival at the Court of Charles VIII., and the honours and benefits heaped upon him, as if in contempt and in defiance of the Orleans party, were a source of bitter annoyance and vexation to them.

While these feelings were at the height, it happened that, the Court having returned to Paris from Rouen, and all the young nobles now enjoying the magnificent festivities which were continually going on, a party was made, at which the King, the Regent, and all the highest personages assisted, when the Duke of Orleans, his rival, René de Lorraine, and their friends, were to play at the popular game called Le Jeu de Paume. In the course of the contention, a dispute arose respecting a hit, and the two parties became greatly excited. Some historians* even go so far as to say that Duke René had the insolence to strike Louis of Orleans; but, if such had been the case, it is most probable a deadly contest must have instantly ensued. At all events, it was at length agreed that the arbitration of the quarrel should depend on Anne de Beaujeu, whose decision was given, without hesitation, against the Duke of Orleans.

The Duke, on this, became extremely irritated, aware

* Bellefont. Varillas: who, however, is generally incorrect.

of the intention of the Regent, and feeling deeply mortified at being thus publicly declared inferior to his rival, whom he held in contempt, and, losing all command of his temper, exclaimed violently, that "if it was a man who had given that false decision, he had lied; and if a woman, she was a disgrace to her sex."*

These imprudent words were no sooner uttered than Louis repented having used them; the outrage was apparent, but it was too late to retract. The whole Court was paralysed, the King offended, and the haughty Regent's feelings may be conceived. The festivities, thus suddenly interrupted, broke up in confusion and dismay.

Although the friends of Louis of Orleans would rather that the open rupture, which was inevitable between the Regent and the head of their party, had taken place in any other manner, they still were not sorry that the position in which he had now placed himself necessitated immediate and decided action. For some time their opposition to every measure proposed by Anne de Beaujeu had irritated and annoyed her and the opposite party, and no concessions, though many had been made, satisfied them for the supreme power which they considered that she had usurped and under which, it was generally understood, the young King himself, whose intelligence awoke rapidly with his unaccustomed liberty, suffered severely and impatiently.

* This story is variously told. Some authors think that the Duke was not aware that it was the Regent who had decided against him; and some suppress the latter clause of the offensive exclamation altogether.—See *Preface to L. du Fresnoy's Comines.*

The insulted Regent, of course, could if it had so pleased her, have ordered the immediate arrest of the Duke, but her policy overpowered her resentment, and she convoked an extraordinary Assembly to whom she gave the charge of pronouncing on the crime of which he had been guilty. The decision was unanimous that the Duke of Orleans merited imprisonment; but, during the deliberation, Louis had had time to be quite aware of his danger, and was merely undecided as to the place to which his flight should be directed. His inclination led him to Brittany; but he had fortunately with him a servant named Lovain who forcibly represented to him the imprudence of exposing himself to be arrested by the revolted barons of Brittany who would be on the watch to waylay him, for the promises of support he had given Duke François against them were no secret.

For a moment he thought of taking refuge in the Low Countries with Maximilian, but it was objected that the Archduke had but little power, and was struggling with his discontented subjects. It was finally resolved that Louis should claim the hospitality of the Duke d'Alençon, where he would be in safety until he could further consider what would be best for the future.

The decision of the Council that Louis should be imprisoned had been adopted rather as a matter of caution to prevent his falling at once into rebellion; when, therefore, his flight was known, much uneasiness was felt throughout the country, and no one was more annoyed than the Regent herself, as she foresaw the

most dangerous consequences from the chances of one so impetuous casting himself into the arms of the most turbulent Prince of his time, and making head with all his party against her. She lost no time in despatching private messengers, who were directed to inform the young Duke that every means would be taken by the friends of both parties to reconcile the affair. But Louis of Orleans had too little confidence in the apparent oblivion of an injury to herself which Anne exhibited; he knew her disposition was too much like that of her father, from whose tyranny he had, in common with all others in his power, suffered so long.

There was nothing he so much dreaded as imprisonment, and he felt confident that once in the power of a foe whom he had mortally offended, he should only add another to the list of those whose lives had passed in perpetual captivity. He therefore dismissed the messengers at once, declining all mediation, and instantly began to prepare for open hostilities. The Duke d'Alençon was one of those restless spirits that find no joy but in continual action; he had been conspicuous for having taken part in every revolt which had broken out for many years past, and nothing delighted him more than the prospect of another struggle. He received his fugitive cousin with open arms, and a hundred lances were raised instantly for his service; men at arms were sent for in all directions, and a considerable force prepared in an incredibly short space of time. But that which more than all astonished and annoyed the Regent was to find that her brother-in-law, the Duke de Bourbon, on whom she had lately showered honours, hoping

to pacify him for the loss of the Regency, had gone over to the side of her enemy, and had but followed the example of the Duke d'Angouleme, who looked upon Louis of Orleans as the head of the family, and considered his cause his own.

Dunois had joined the standard of his pupil at once, and the Counts de Foix and d'Albret required but little persuasion to declare in his favour.

Having resolved to throw off all restraint, it was agreed that the first measure of the Duke of Orleans should be, to make himself master of the chief town of his duchy, and there to establish his head quarters. Accordingly, he advanced upon the city of Orleans, perfectly confident of his reception there. He was singularly deceived, for the citizens, appalled at so sudden a revolt against the Royal power, had taken their resolution; and when Louis rode up to the walls, and demanded admission, as their master, he found the gates closed, and a respectful message sent to him, to inform him, that they intended to remain in obedience to the King. On this, mortified and dispirited, the Duke and his party retired to the little town of Beaugency, which opened its gates to him; but he was aware that it was far from offering so secure a retreat as Orleans, where he had altogether reckoned on being received with welcome.

This check pointed out to Anne de Beaujeu the line she should pursue, and with infinite talent and promptitude, she availed herself of all. To make it appear that Orleans was in arms against the King himself was her object; her own quarrel being no longer spoken of, and thus she exulted in every new step of danger and

imprudence into which she saw the Duke hurrying. There was certainty that the Duke of Brittany would send troops to the help of his ally; to prevent this, and also to prevent the Counts de Foix and d'Albret from moving from their domains, was her object. Before, therefore, the young Duke had had time to fortify himself in Beaugency, she led a large body of troops, headed by the King himself, to the spot, who sat down before the town which, it was easy to see, could, at a signal, be reduced to obedience. When Dunois found the strait into which his pupil had fallen, he was aware that there was no safety but in immediately surrendering to the will of the Sovereign, and, with much persuasion, induced him to consent to send a deputation to Madame de Beaujeu.*

The Regent had no inclination to deprive herself of the triumph which she had obtained; and when the Deputies appeared before her, they were received with a haughtiness and indifference more mortifying than anger. Anne was at all times proud, and, as Brantome observes, "elle tenait terriblement sa grandeur;" on this occasion, replying to the representations of the Deputies that, "after the enormous fault committed by his rebellious subjects, they had no hope of pardon but

* It is related, that when the friends of Louis of Orleans, who were ill satisfied to give up the cause in which they had embarked, endeavoured to persuade him to defend the town of Beaugency, against the King, he replied, "J'aime mieux être prisonnier et innocent que d'être rebelle. Le Roy peut bien m'ôter la liberté; mais je ne perdrais jamais le respect." The politic Regent, feeling assured that Orleans would not fight against the King, in person, had taken the only measure which was sure to bring him to submission.—See *Preface to Godefrey's Comines*, by M. L. du Fresnoy.

in the clemency of the King," with the most resolute dignity, she refused all compromise, denied their right to appeal to the Council, and, using all her power as a Sovereign, she commanded absolutely that the Duke should instantly disarm, abandon his confederates, and return to Court, on her simple word that he should be received and treated as formerly. That the Count de Dunois should immediately retire, with all his followers, to his domain at Ast, in Piedmont, there to remain until it should be the King's pleasure to recall him.

Dunois, although his sentence was the most severe, was the first to advise submission, and set the example by at once setting out for his place of exile. The Regent was afraid to pursue her advantage further; but she could scarcely add to her triumph, for she had received the submission of all the Princes of the Blood, and had them completely in her power. The proud brother-in-law, the Duke de Bourbon, and all the rest, submitted to her will, and returned with the Court to Paris.

CHAPTER VI.

HENRY TUDOR—THE CAPTIVE OF POLICY—THE CAPTIVE'S PROMISES—RICHARD THE THIRD—THE ARRESTED JOURNEY—THE MEETING AT ANCENIS—SUDDEN UNION—THE WILD BOARS—ARREST OF LANDAIS—CONFESSION—DUKE FRANÇOIS—THE EXECUTION.

THE Regent, satisfied and exulting at the complete success she had achieved, now turned her attention to the affairs of Brittany, aware of the importance of keeping her friends there, whose interference in preventing troops being sent to the assistance of the Duke of Orleans, had done good service to her plans.

Meantime, Landais, when he saw that the affairs of his new ally were in so declining a state, at once abandoned his cause, and sought to strengthen himself in another quarter. He foresaw that, if he allowed the least advantage to his enemies, his own destruction would assuredly follow, and he felt that Anne de Beaujeu was his equal, even more than her father, in every stratagem of policy.

Henry Tudor,* Earl of Richmond, was the instrument he selected to aid him in his present difficulty; and his

* It is amusing to observe how strangely this name is written in all the French histories of the time. Varillas spells it "Teithgr selon les Anglois; Tudest selon les François."

master, François, without hesitation, agreed to his proposition of aiding him in rescuing the Crown of England from the grasp of Richard III., who then reigned, feeling that having thus secured a powerful friend in the future King he need no longer fear either his revolted barons, or their supporter, the King of France.

Henry had long been held in honourable captivity by the Duke of Brittany, the intent of which was to preserve him from the continued machinations of the members of the house of York, who sought to gain possession of his person. Thrown by a tempest, in the first instance, on the coast of Brittany, when he fled from England, he had found protection from its Duke, in whose hands he was a check, not only on England, but at the same time on France itself, and that which Landais now proposed was a plan always ready to be attempted as long as the pretender to the English Crown was at hand and could be produced as an opponent to the least friendly Power.

François, while he refused all the bribes and entreatics of both Edward and Richard to give up the last scion of the house of Lancaster, consented to promise that the young Prince should not be permitted to leave his dominions without the English being informed of the fact. Thus, Henry had grown up into manhood always a prisoner, and depending on the caprice of the moment, or the interest of his protector, for that liberty which every year seemed still receding.

Before Landais decided on an act of such importance as assisting an attack on the Crown of England, he had sounded Richard III. on his willingness to stand

friendly towards the Duke of Brittany against France and the barons; but Richard was too much occupied with his own difficulties to be willing to plunge into a war with France for the sake of a less powerful ally, and Landais soon discovered that there was no certainty in the hope of his support.

It was to the Countess of Richmond, still concealed in England, that the artful Minister addressed his messages, and by her—who had long desired to communicate with Landais, whom she knew to be all-powerful with his master—his agents were received with open arms. The next step necessary, after he had ascertained the amount of support that Richmond was likely to receive in case of his landing in England, was that a communication should be made to young Henry himself, and his oath obtained to place the whole of his recovered power at the service of the Duke of Brittany.

The favourite hastened, therefore, to the Castle of Elven, where Richmond resided, and there, to the astonishment of the Prince, from whom the state of affairs was concealed as much as possible, he developed his plan. It may readily be imagined that no obstacle was thrown in the way by the aspiring Henry, who solemnly promised all that was required of him, and received the welcome assurance that a fleet should be at his disposal, and that all was arranged by his partisans in England for his success.* But that success was yet to be delayed, and it was not through the

* Some accounts say that Landais proposed his marrying the Princess Anne, in case of his success, and that he readily consented.

means of the tailor's son, of Vitré, that Henry VII. was to obtain his crown.

When the Duke of Richmond reached England the plot had been discovered, the execution of the Duke of Buckingham and the rest of his friends had taken place, and Henry was forced to return; he intended again to take refuge in Brittany, but a tempest dispersed his fleet and threw him on the coast of Normandy, a helpless suppliant. Another triumph was now prepared for Anne de Beaujeu, to whom the whole plan of Landais had been betrayed. She spared no pains to gain the confidence of Richmond, sent him succour and the most friendly messages, and invited him to come to the King's Court in order to receive his assurances of sympathy. Once there, Anne dazzled his imagination by her offers of service, and insinuated that he had been misled in having depended on the assistance of a vassal of the Crown, when the Crown itself was ready to support his claims. Richmond, however, though flattered and inspirited, feared to give up his chance in Brittany to the uncertain aid of her rival, powerful as he knew the Regent to be. He accordingly took leave of the Court of France with the intention of returning to Nantes, but circumstances put a stop to his visit which he had by no means contemplated.

Richard III. was not less rich in spies and subtle agents than the rest of the Princes of the time; and when he had become aware of the motives of Landais in putting forward Richmond, he lost no time in despatching messengers to the powerful favourite, offering to give all the assistance he could possibly require to the

Duke of Brittany, provided that the rival adopted by Landais should be at once delivered up to him. He even offered to come in person with an army to chastise the revolted subjects of Duke François, and said all that could be desired by the zealous partisan, to induce him to transfer his friendship.

Tempted by these offers, and convinced that Richard was so firmly seated on his throne that to displace him was impossible, the favourite resolved to agree to this proposition; and fearing, probably, that his master, who shrunk from the appearance of treachery, and whom he had always managed by a semblance of justice in all his transactions, would refuse to consent to this cruel and dishonourable plot, he did not even inform him of it, but made use of the privy seal for his purpose, and unscrupulously sent a reply in the affirmative to the proposition of the tyrant.

Again, however, the plot failed; the mother of Henry discovered the treachery in store for her son, and was able to arrest his journey to Brittany mid way. The intelligence she sent him was so astounding, that he hesitated to believe its truth, and waited for its confirmation; that having arrived, he turned his horse's head and hurried back to Paris.

Once more all conspired to present a triumph to the Lady of Beaujeu. The subsequent success of Henry of Richmond was owing to the help of France, and not to that of Brittany; and Landais' treacherous alliance with Richard III. had deprived his master of the friendship of England.

But, even yet, Landais was not to be daunted; and

he founded his hopes on the attachment of the Bretons for their Prince, and their jealousy of French influence. His artful persuasions soon gained to his cause the greater part of those who had not joined, or who disapproved of the conduct of, the barons. The original subject of the quarrel was forgotten for the time, and Landais, instead of being looked upon as the murderer of the good Chancellor, was upheld as the friend of Brittany and their beloved Duke, whom his revolted nobles desired to displace, and to deliver their country into the hands of France; forcing the young Princess Anne to become the wife of the King, whose marriage, with the still infant Marguerite of Brabant, could be easily set aside.

These notions grew daily stronger until a perfect panic of hatred prevailed against the French, and when an army, sent by the Regent to assist the barons, set foot in Brittany, Landais found himself surrounded by a countless host of patriots ready at his word to march against the invaders.

He now, more than ever, exulted in his power, and already saw his enemies at his feet, but the moment of his defeat came sooner than even his worst foes could have anticipated.

In the very midst of the great contention of the adverse parties before the town of Ancenis, on the Loire, belonging to the Maréchal de Rieux, but taken by the Duke of Brittany, the troops of the latter having resolved to come to a battle in the open country, found themselves suddenly face to face with the opposite army, chiefly composed of their brother Bretons, and a sudden

feeling of remorse taking possession of their minds, instead of attacking each other, they paused to discuss the question which had brought them into hostility, and it was then that the folly of giving the French a dangerous advantage by their disputes became apparent, as if by a sudden inspiration, to all. It was concluded that the cause of this misunderstanding between brother and brother was no other than the traitor Pierre Landais, who misled the Duke, deceived the people, and was in league with the French to betray the country.

This was sufficient; a new turn was given to affairs, and a treaty was instantly entered into, and both parties agreed to solicit together the condign punishment of the detested and unworthy Minister. The whole united army instantly set forth, marching, with banners displayed, towards the Castle of Nantes, where the Duke and all his family were known to be, together with Landais, waiting the event of the attack upon Ancenis. The Duke had, in fact, prepared for a long sojourn at Nantes, and Landais had the entire direction of all the affairs of the army.

The armies advanced so rapidly, and took their precautions so well, that not a straggler could arrive before them to announce the danger that menaced the Minister, and nothing could exceed the surprise and consternation of all parties, when the great array appeared before the Castle of Nantes. The people of Nantes hastened as they had done before to defend their Duke, but when they heard the motive of the fraternity of the opposing armies, they became perfectly satisfied that the destruction of Landais was the only method of reconciling all parties.

Duke François, unable to imagine what had taken place, despatched the Count de Foix, the brother of his wife, to the enormous assembly that clamoured without, but the tremendous confusion and press into which the Count entered was such, that it was with the utmost difficulty he could escape from the dense crowd without being smothered. He is described as a very fat, unwieldy man, by no means fit for an ambassador on such an occasion, but much liked by the people, who, the Duke imagined, were more likely to listen to him than to another. It was in vain that he endeavoured to address the mob, whose fury and excitement were increasing at every moment, and their cries for the delivery of Landais were all that could be distinguished.

The Count de Foix returned to Duke François almost suffocated, exclaiming, "Monseigneur, I swear to you, by Heaven, that I would rather be the head of a million of wild boars than such a people as your Bretons are. You must, of necessity, give up your treasurer, or there is no safety for you, your daughters, or any of us."

The Duke, however, did not fear the worst, as he still imagined that the people of Nantes were in favour of Landais, and he resolved to send to the insurgents his Chancellor François Chrestien, who had a high reputation for ability and honesty, although it was Landais himself who had appointed him in the room of the unfortunate Chauvin. This very circumstance made him a peculiarly unfit messenger, for the sight of him recalled to the mind of the people all the atrocity of the favourite, yet unavenged, and they not only would not hear a word addressed to them by Chrestien, but de-

manded that Landais should be given up to them to deal with him without the slow process of the law, which had failed to do justice to the Chancellor Chauvin. Çhrestien returned to report his unsuccessful mission to his master who, even then, was firm in his resolution not to give up his Minister, except by force.

Landais himself, for the first time conscious of his danger, had hitherto heard all that passed with an undaunted spirit, and it was only when the insurgents had penetrated to the donjon of the Castle that he obeyed his affrighted Master, and concealed himself in a small closet in the Duke's private chamber.

It was there that he was taken: but his enemies had no wish to see him torn in pieces by a mob; they desired that his trial should be carried on with all due form in order that no doubt should remain of the crimes of which he was accused.

The Chancellor Chrestien, who saw that there was no means of appeasing the people but by his being delivered up, and who, also, was fully aware that if they rushed in, pell mell, they would destroy him before the eyes of the Duke, addressed his master, representing the impossibility of saving Landais from instant death, except by giving him up to the law, and required that he should be instantly placed in his own custody.

On this, François, seeing that all other chance was gone, hesitated, and asked Chrestien of what he was accused.

"He is accused," was the reply, "of many crimes of which he is probably innocent. But the moment he is arrested the fury of the people will be calmed. Depend upon it no kind of injustice will be done him."

"Do you solemnly swear this?" interrupted the Duke.

The Chancellor promised, on his faith, that the trial should be conducted with the strictest justice, and at length the unfortunate Duke, unable further to protect him, led the way to his chamber, and discovered the retreat of Landais. Taking his favourite by the hand, he delivered him to the Chancellor.

"Do what justice requires," said he, "and remember it is to him that you are indebted for your charge; therefore, *be his friend in doing justice.*"*

His arrest was immediately announced to the people, and the archers of the Duke's guard having been summoned, ranged themselves in double line to form a passage from the Castle to the Tower of St. Nicolas, to which the prisoner was conducted in safety and where he was left till everything was prepared for his trial.

Nothing was neglected of the forms of justice which the Chancellor had promised the Duke; neither was any torture omitted to draw from the prisoner a confession of his guilt. Unable to endure the terrible pain to which he was subjected, the unfortunate culprit appears to have volunteered confessions of crimes hitherto unsuspected, amongst others, that of having originated a report that Charles VIII. of France was not the son of the King and Queen but a child substituted for the Dauphin who had died.

During the whole time of the trial, Duke François was kept a sort of prisoner, guards being placed round

* The concluding words of the Duke were—"ainsi, soyez—lui ami en Justice." Bouchet, d'Argentré, &c.

the Castle to prevent his knowing how affairs proceeded. The Count de Comminges, who had formerly enjoyed much of the favour of this weak and too easy Prince, was deputed to entertain him and occupy his attention. Landais was condemned and executed* in public, before the eyes of a multitude of people, and it was not till his body was buried, in the Church of the Carmelites of Nantes, that the Duke was informed that the trial was over.† He had just been assured by de Comminges that the decision of the Council would be made known to him, on which he said: "Ainsi le veux—je, car, quelque cas qu'il a commis, je lui donne sa grace et si ne veux point qu'il meure."‡

* The Cardinal de Foix repeated, on the execution of Landais, the words of Exodus, "Bestia quæ tetigerit montem lapidabitur," meaning that a base man raised high, without merit, deserved a disgraceful end.—*Paroles Memorables.*

† It was by special favour of the Judges that the body of Landais was thus buried by his relations, in a chapel built in Notre Dame by himself. He left one daughter, heiress of his immense estates, which the Duke would not allow to be confiscated. A descendant of his sister's son was afterwards Bishop of Treguer, near Nantes, and was esteemed an upright as well as a learned man; he died at Rome in 1505.—*Hist. des Ducs de Bretagne*, 1739, Paris.

‡ Bouchard, Lobineau, &c.

CHAPTER VII.

NEW FAVOURITES—THE OATH OF FIDELITY—FLIGHT OF LOUIS FROM ORLEANS—DIVISIONS—THE SUITORS—ALAIN D'ALBRET—THE KING OF THE ROMANS—ANNE'S LOVE OF BRITTANY—MARGUERITE DE FOIX—THE TOMB AT NANTES.

It has almost invariably been the fate of favourites to be soon forgotten by those they governed. Although Duke François was in great grief at first on hearing of Landais' fate, and although he directed his indignation chiefly against Odet d'Aidit, Count de Comminges, who had amused him while his Minister suffered, a very short time only elapsed before all his favour was gained by that accomplished and unscrupulous personage, whose principles do not appear to have been any better than those of Landais himself, for he carried on secret intelligence with Anne de Beaujeu, at the very time that he was most trusted by his Master: this seems to have been the vice of the age, and an act of policy resorted to by all persons in power.

Every one of those lords who had been most opposed to Landais, were by degrees received into the Duke's intimacy, the Prince of Orange and the Maréchal de Rieux, in particular. None of these, however, appear to have been faithful either to Brittany or to France,

whose interests they betrayed, whenever it became necessary to them.

The question of the marriage of the Princess Anne, constantly the subject of speculation, was now renewed in favour of Maximilian, lately become King of the Romans; and a treaty was drawn up at Bruges, and signed, not only by the King, and his young son, but by the Lords of Brittany, and the Duke of Orleans himself, by which Maximilian became bound to defend the succession of the Princesses, and to afford every support to the Duke, their father.

The States of Brittany were at this time convoked* when all the nobles took the most solemn engagements to protect the daughters of the Duke from the machinations of France, and to see their rights enforced, in case of his death. Amongst those who were foremost in taking the oath, was the natural brother of the Princesses, François d'Avaugour Comte de Vertus, the son of the famous Dame de Villequier, whose death had occurred soon after the Duke's second marriage, and who was sometimes supposed to have been legally united to him. He was much beloved by his father, who gave him high commands and great dignities; but, though at this moment he declared his allegiance to his eldest sister, the Princess Anne, he afterwards rebelled against François, and caused him great uneasiness.

After the oath of fidelity to the heiresses of the Duke had been taken in Council, the members all repaired to the Cathedral Church, and renewed it upon the holy Sacrament, the Cross, the Gospels, and several hallowed

* 1486.

relics of saints. After the ceremony, the Abbé de Saint Melaine addressed to them a very impressive discourse, in which he recapitulated their duties to the assembled lords, adding that they owed the Duke their thanks for the honour he had done them in having resolved not to marry either of his daughters without their consent. Before the Court of France had had time to be aware of the treaty of Bruges, or the signature of Louis of Orleans to it, the latter had fled from the supervision which he could no longer endure, and had eluded the vigilance of the Dame de Beaujeu, who considered him entirely in her power. His friends were all willing to assist and support him in any adventure, and it was thought that the young King himself, who writhed beneath the yoke of his haughty sister, favoured his cousin's views, which, he trusted, would tend to deliver him from a pupilage which had, as he increased in years, become an intolerable burthen. Charles did not dare to act for himself, but he had plenty of friends around him who only waited the proper moment to assert his rights and throw off the sway of the imperious Regent, whose ambition and tyranny seemed to increase with her power.

Louis was at Orleans, when he was warned that his having left the Court, without permission, had been looked upon by the Regent as an act of contempt, and that the Maréchal de Gié was about to be sent to require his immediate return. On hearing this, he feigned a hunting party, and mounting a swift horse, took his way to the Convent of Fontevraud, where his sister was Abbess. From thence, with fresh horses, he made his way to the dominions of the Duke of Brittany, who re-

ceived him with great joy, and encouraged him to renew his hopes of his daughter's hand.* Dunois soon joined him, and renewed hostilities against the Regent were resolved upon.

From this moment began a series of attacks and defences between France, Brittany, and the various parties who espoused their quarrels, which tore the country to pieces, and desolated it for several years. The disagreement between the Duke of Brittany and his nobles soon recommenced with redoubled force, the punishment of Landais not having had the desired effect of calming the excited spirits who preferred their own interests to that of their country. The Regent of France, jealous, suspicious, and greedy of the possession of so important a province as Brittany, never ceased to foment divisions and to encourage rebellion, which, she hoped, would in the end put an end to the dominion of the Duke, and annihilate the succession of his daughters. One party in Brittany confided in their Duke, or agreed that, even though he might err in judgment, it was safer for the country to be faithful to his cause, than, by deserting him, to leave open a way for French aggression. The other party thought it better to accept the French as mediators, believing that they had no ulterior views.

The fate of his favourite, it was generally believed, had given a great shock to the nerves of the Duke, so

* Le Duc d'Orleans *ne bailla point de scellé*, car à la verité il besongnoit pour luy et avait intention de repudier sa femme, disant l'avoir epousée par force, pour poursuivre la dite Dame Anne, laquelle à ce moyen ne pouvoit faillir *de trouver mary*, estant desirée de tant de partis.—*D'Argentré.*

much so, that it was thought by many that his intellect had become enfeebled. His health was much impaired, and he was subject to violent attacks of illness, which shook his constitution; and, during all this time, contentions were going on amongst the various pretenders to the hands of his two daughters.

Those of the Seigneur d'Albret at this moment were the most in favour; his ambition was great to become master of the country by means of so desirable a marriage as that with the Princess Anne, and she had, unfortunately, an advocate, or rather a persecutor, too near her, in the person of the Dame de Laval, who was his sister and the governess of the young Princess. Until the second arrival of the Duke of Orleans in Brittany, Alain d'Albret had not been alarmed for the prize, but he could not conceal from himself that his chance was but poor, if the Princess herself were allowed any voice in the matter.

The Duke of Orleans had now frequent opportunities of seeing the Princess Anne, who, though still scarcely past childhood, began to give promise of great beauty, and whose mind was far beyond her years. Her character appears, even then, to have been formed, and to have exhibited many of the striking qualities which afterwards so much distinguished her. Finding herself the object of continued speculations, she early acquired a habit of thinking and deciding for herself; and however ready she was to assist her father's views she still reserved to herself the power of decision in what most concerned her. She heard of the proposals of Louis of Orleans with complacency, for she was

acquainted with his person, and could appreciate his character; it is even probable that he was the first object of her childish affection, and her secret wish may have been that his suit should succeed. When she found that the King of the Romans, however, had been decided on by her father, she offered no opposition; and, with a sigh, perhaps, to her former hopes, she was content to consider her marriage as a mere matter of ambition; she was aware that her father's care was solely to protect his heiress from the encroaching treachery of France, and she felt that he was right in considering that the power of the Duke of Orleans was insufficient to protect her. While King Charles was a mere child his delicate health and puny appearance had caused apprehensions of his ever reaching manhood, in which case Louis of Orleans would succeed to the Crown in the regular course of events, but circumstances had changed: Charles was several years older, had become more robust, had exhibited spirit and shown considerable character, and few persons now considered the succession of his cousin as likely to occur immediately. Louis was in arms against the Regent, whose ability and cunning gave her the advantage; the rebellion of which he was the leader was unpopular in France, as it kept the country in continued agitation, and the Bretons by no means desired that their province should be the theatre of the quarrel between the two Powers; and while, moreover, the assistance given by France to her own rebels against their Sovereign was looked on with enmity, that afforded by the Duke of Orlean's party to the Duke himself was accepted with suspicion.

But there was one suitor against whom Anne had formed a resolute determination to oppose her own will to that of her father's advisers. This was Alain Seigneur d'Albret,* whose cause her governess, who was his sister, was always pleading. She detested his very name, and was in the utmost distress of mind when the vacillating Duke leant an ear to the advantages which his proposals seemed to

* The Comte Alain d'Albret had long resided at the Court of Spain, and, when applied to by François, to assist him, had entered by sea and landed in Basse Bretagne, with four thousand men; from thence he repaired to Rennes, and afterwards to Nantes, where the Duke then was, and immediately urged him to conclude the marriage with the Princess Anne, which had been the bribe offered for his services. Bouchet adds: "Elle ne voulut entendre, dont son père fut mal content, qui ne scavoit pas qu'elle vouloit bien le Duc d'Orleans, a quoy le Comte de Dunois s'attendait."

It appears that Dunois, probably thinking the chance of his cousin, on whom, at that time, a strict watch was kept after his return to Court, a lost one, had been induced to favour the promise given to d'Albret, and had given his seal into the hands of Madame de Laval, as a guarantee of his good will. Now that Louis of Orleans had renewed his intentions, Dunois was greatly perplexed, and had recourse to artifice to obtain his seal again. The honour of that day appears to have been singularly elastic; a great deal was said about the delicate sense of that quality amongst the nobles, but there were few, even amongst the greatest, who did not, when their interest required it, compromise their conscience in some way or other. This imprudence of Dunois, in parting with his seal, is the more remarkable, as it is recorded of him that he confided in no secretary, writing his despatches himself, and keeping them in a coffer, which he kept always by him; in this coffer were all the seals and signatures of every nobleman and officer of distinction in the kingdom, which he consulted and compared, whenever he received letters from these persons. Louis XI. and Pierre Landais had both so artfully contrived to imitate handwriting and seals, that the practice had become general, and it required the greatest precaution to avoid being deceived.—See *Notes to Godefroy's Comines. Continued by L. du Fresnoy.*

D'Albret is described by Jaligny as "coperosé de visaige," and he adds: "aussi, disoit-on, que la felle n'en avoit cure."

offer over those of the rest. He was advanced in life, of a bad reputation for morality, disagreeable in person and manners, and unsuited in all ways to a young girl of such distinction both of person and rank. Alain had at first wooed entirely from mercenary motives, but as the Princess grew older he appears to have conceived a violent passion for her, which the Duke of Orleans perceiving, and seeing at the same time that his own hopes were fading away, lost no opportunity of treating his rival with ridicule and contempt; his young friends and followers were not behindhand in imitating his example, and frequent disputes and disagreements ensued between the antique lover and the preferred, but almost hopelessly-attached, pretender to the Princess's hand.

The Maréchal de Rieux had yet another match which he exerted his whole interest to bring about, and which, like all the rest, in turn, Duke François listened to, till a new interest made him again commence the circle of his sons-in-law in perspective: this was the Vicomte de Rohan, nephew of the late Duke François, the first who founded claims upon the duchy, in case of the present Duke's death, and whose marriage with the heiress would conclude all difficulties.

In the midst of this crowd of adorers of her great possessions, the King of the Romans appeared the least objectionable: he had been a tender husband to his interesting wife, Mary of Burgundy, was considered an amiable Prince, was still in the prime of life, and possessed personal advantages, spirit, and talent. It was true that he was much hampered by his father's penurious disposition, and by the turbulence of his

Flemish subjects, but he had always shown himself friendly to Brittany, and was in a position to defend the country from French incursion: his infant daughter was the promised bride of King Charles, and thus their interests would not clash. When, therefore, she was required to go through the ceremony of betrothal to Maximilian, she submitted without a murmur, for even at the early age at which she was exposed to all this coil, Anne had one predominant feeling which overpowered any personal inclination she might have, or any selfish wish—it was her devotion to her country, and this she never lost throughout her whole career. To her Brittany was all in all; and its interests to be considered before any other; to secure advantages to Brittany she was content to sacrifice every other object, and for this reason she was ready to listen to all offers, except those of Alain d'Albret.

She was sincerely attached to her father, who appears to have had considerable affection for both his daughters, and to delight in their society, for they are generally named as being with him in his Castles, and as moving about with him from place to place. In the unsettled state of his country he was indeed forced to change their abode frequently, in order that his rebellious barons should not know where to find them, and, according as he allowed one suitor to hope more than his rival, he regulated the place of their abode. For instance, at a time when the Duke was besieged in Nantes by the French army he quitted his apartments in the Castle and took up his lodging in the high street of the town, as more secure, and his daughters, who were with him,

were conducted to the Hotel de la Bouvadière, having been removed from the guardianship of Madame de Laval, who was suspected of intelligence with the enemy, and placed with other persons.

Wherever the unfortunate François looked he saw treachery: one tried friend after another was bribed from his interests or changed according to their own. The French, the allies of Orleans, the barons, and his own troops, covered the whole country with confusion and desolation. His towns were taken, his Castles destroyed, he fled from place to place, uncertain who to trust, and, changing his opinions and his acts from day to day, always keeping in view, under all circumstances, the safety of his children and the inviolability of their rights.

One of the greatest misfortunes that can befal a child happened at about this time to the young Princesses; the only true and real friend to whom they dared to look, and on whose tender protection they could rely, was taken from them. Their mother, the Duchess of Brittany, died, after a short illness, in the midst of youth and health. What her life had been, with such a husband as the weak and changeable François, it is useless to inquire. She had had one son, who expired in infancy, and her two daughters occupied all her affection. She is represented as remarkable for her great beauty and the cultivation of her mind; and as Anne was twelve years old at the time of her death, the influence of her example had probably not been without its effect. In her love of letters, and her encouragement of the learned and accomplished, her

daughter showed herself, in after-times, to resemble her. But, beyond the magnificent tomb at Nantes, where she rests, together with her husband and his first wife, nothing is known of the amiable Marguerite de Foix.*

* Marguerite's death is thus mentioned in d'Argentré, "Laissant après soy la réputation d'avoir été l'une des plus belles Princesses de son temps et autant accomplie en bonnes mœurs qu'aucune autre de son âge." She died 16th May, 1486.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE WORD OF A KING—THE MARÉCHAL'S RESOLVE—EMBASSY OF DUNOIS—UNSUCCESSFUL MISSION—TREACHERY OF D'ALBRET—LA TRIMOUILLE—DEVICE OF THE ORLEANS PARTY—THE BATTLE OF ST. AUBIN—THE FORTUNE OF WAR—MESSAGE TO MAXIMILIAN.

THE attack on Duke François, in the town of Nantes, by the French, was an infringement of the assurance which had been given to the Maréchal de Rieux, that the army of France should not undertake any great movement without his knowledge and participation; when he was therefore rallied by the exulting Regent on the success of the French arms in his country, de Rieux, who had begun to fear that his resentment was bringing destruction on Brittany, was seized with remorse, and, at the same time, much wounded by the tone assumed by the Duchess of Bourbon.*

It was on this occasion that he uttered the memorable words which are recorded as an instance of his high sense of honour. He reproached the Regent with having urged the King to attack Nantes against the word he had pledged; on which Anne de Bourbon contemptuously replied, that he had no *written promise*

* The elder brother of her husband was now dead.

to produce. "How, madam!" exclaimed he, boldly, "is not the word of a King worth more than a thousand seals? Is it not more glorious for the King to imitate his grandfather than his father? Really this is teaching him, too early, to break his faith!"*

Anne de Bourbon was generally too politic to commit herself by a careless word; the haughty and harsh tone she frequently assumed was adopted for a purpose, and when her enemy could not reply, but upon this occasion she committed an oversight. De Rieux was deeply offended, and, doubtless, had been previously disposed, by the representations of many of his countrymen, to regret the power he had allowed to France, and to fear its consequence.

Already the Duke of Orleans had gained over the Prince of Orange and other important personages to the Duke of Brittany's side, and every friend of the country felt the necessity of determining the Maréchal to change his plans in their favour. Duke François himself resolved to give up all personal feelings and attempt persuasion; he accordingly sent the most flattering messages to de Rieux, promising to forget the past, to restore him to all his commands, to act by his counsels in future, and to dismiss whatever person in power he should object to. The Seigneur de Condom was sent to France with these messages, and with the assurances of the guarantee of the Orleans party. Condom, in his interview with de Rieux, represented that

* "Eh quoy, Madame, la parole d'un Roy ne vaut elle pas mille scellez? ne seroit il pas plus glorieux que le Roy imitast son ayeul que non pas son père? Vrayment c'est luy apprendre de bonne heure a rompre sa foy!" —*Paroles Mémorables.* Mémoire par une personne d'esprit.

the salvation of Brittany depended, after God, on his decision; that his own interests were bound up in those of the country, and that it was more exalted to be the chief of all its armies, than to be a simple soldier, depending on the caprice of France.

The Maréchal de Rieux, persuaded that to agree was the best mode of finishing the war, resolved to take leave of the French on good terms, and sent a trusty messenger to the Regent to offer the terms which the Duke of Orleans himself had dictated, namely, that he and all his party were content to return to their duty and allegiance, on condition of a free pardon; and, that being the case, the Regent was entreated to withdraw, without delay, all the troops she had sent to Brittany, which, by convention formally agreed and sealed, she had engaged to do under such circumstances.

But the Regent Anne, far from listening to this dictation, returned a haughty reply that, although her troops had been sent with a view to reduce the country to peace and obedience, the Duke of Brittany had since been guilty of two crimes against his Suzerain. The first in disposing of his daughter without the King's consent, the next in seducing a great part of the army of his Majesty to fight against him. That neither François nor the Duke of Orleans could be pardoned these acts, and that she should not withdraw the troops until full reparation was made.

This reply decided the Maréchal; he immediately made his peace with Duke François, who sent troops to repossess him of the Castles of Ancenis and Chateau-

briant. The latter he gained by stratagem,* but the former was attacked and taken by a party sent without loss of time by the Regent, who executed her order to raze the fortress to the ground, and new combats, reprisals, and destruction commenced on both sides.

Dunois, ever ready in cases of difficulty, was next deputed as Ambassador to the Regent, who could not refuse to receive him. They had an interview at Angers, which was conducted on her side with incredible hauteur. Dunois urged, in bold language, "that the only faults which could be brought against Duke François were that he had allowed himself to be governed by that traitor Landais, and had incurred the resentment of his barons in consequence of having, by the advice of that false Minister, injured them in their rights and possessions: that they had been urged from revolt to open war, that the Duke of Orleans and his friends had hastened to his relief when in danger from them, and that the Duke could not show himself ungrateful for their support. That the King had made no objection to this assistance having been given, and had yet declared war against the Duke when he was least prepared to meet it. That it was true the Duke of Orleans had left the King without permission, but with no inimical view, a misunderstanding at Court being the sole cause, as His Majesty knew, and that he and his friends were ready to return if permitted. That the misfortune of the Duke of Brittany was that he had only daughters as his future successors, that he was old and weak and broken in constitution." He

* D'Argentré, Lobineau, &c.

added that he was in a dying state, and that his daughters were innocent of any fault to the King. The eldest was only twelve years of age, and, instead of being looked upon as an object of anger, should, under every consideration, receive protection and assistance from the King, in case she should be molested or her inheritance disputed. That the Princess Anne demanded from the King that justice which he could not refuse to the meanest of his subjects, and which she herself had the more right to hope for, from having the honour of being born a Princess of the Blood-Royal of France.*

The discourse of Dunois made a sensible impression on the mind of young Charles, before whom he delivered it, but the Regent had not yet permitted him power to decide on so important a question, and the only answer she deigned to give was, that the Dukes of Orleans and Brittany were summoned to appear before the Court of Parliament of Paris, as vassals of the Crown, to answer for their misdemeanor,† and in case of their non-appearance they would be declared guilty of Lèse-majesté.

Dunois returned from his unsuccessful mission with these tidings, and open war was now declared without a hope of averting its consequences by future negotiations.

It was the jealousy of the two rivals, d'Albret and the Duke of Orleans, breaking forth without restraint, that may be considered solely to have occasioned the

* Of the house of Dreux. She was generally called Anne de Dreux.
† Jaligny.

ruin of the cause in which they were both engaged, with the same view of gaining the prize offered in the hand of the Princess Anne. D'Albret, who brought to swell the army of Brittany a powerful body, contended to a right to the first command, which Louis would not consent to; and to settle the claims of each, the Maréchal de Rieux was appointed Commander-in-Chief, while neither of the Princes were permitted to fight except as simple soldiers under him. Orleans submitted to this with infinite grace, but d'Albret, indignant and revengeful, resolved to sacrifice his rival by an act of treachery, which succeeded but too well. He spread abroad reports that the reason he had desired the command was to prevent the execution of a plan of the Orleans party, which was, that in the thick of the battle it was their intention to go over to the enemy, and betray the Bretons. Absurd as this accusation was, it found many believers, and it was chiefly owing to it that the great battle of St. Aubin, which took place immediately after, was lost.

This battle decided the fate of François, Duke of Brittany, and of his daughter.

The Regent Anne, resolving that this struggle should be decisive, had sought out the most promising young general in France, and had given to him the command of the army which she now sent against the Bretons and their combined forces, consisting of English, Spanish, and Burgundians, considerable reinforcements having been sent to Duke François from all his allies, so that his army was very considerable but heterogeneous, and by no means animated with the same spirit, for jealousies,

prejudice, and animosities of all sorts prevailed amongst the foreigners and the proud Bretons, who accepted their aid with reluctance.

Louis de la Trimouïlle, whose fame afterwards filled all Europe, had, although not more than twenty-six years of age, distinguished himself as a valiant soldier and intrepid leader, and he was the more recommended to the Regent from having resisted all the offers of the Duke of Orleans to declare for his party. Her choice of him as Commander of the Forces was generally approved, and the result showed the judgment she had evinced.

La Trimouïlle accordingly led his overpowering bands at once against the Breton force, which awaited his approach at a little town called St. Aubin du Cormier, defended by a strong Castle, built by Pierre de Dreux, which was considered almost impregnable. The effects of the treachery of d'Albret were, even at that moment, beginning to show themselves: when he found that Louis of Orleans was content to fight as a simple volunteer, knowing his great courage and resolution, he dreaded that he would achieve some feat of arms, the more remarkable from his position, which left him free to undertake any difficulty, and he, therefore, at the moment a battle was about to begin, used all his insidious persuasions to induce the Maréchal de Rieux to dispense with the services of the party altogether. The Bretons, who were convinced of the alleged bad faith of their pretended friend, refused to allow the cavalry of Orleans to advance, and the Maréchal, in order to reconcile them, ordered the Duke and his friends, to a post at a distance

from the immediate scene of action, there to await the event of the combat. No sooner, however, did the French, under the banner of Orleans, hear this proposition, than they were in despair, and entreated to be allowed to give up their horses to the Bretons and to fight on foot. In order to leave no reason for refusal to their earnest petition, they offered to be ranged amongst the few English who had been sent by Henry VII., and who were, in fact, ashamed of the smallness of their number. They proposed to add seventeen hundred men of their own, dressed in the casaque worn by the English, by which means it would appear to the enemy that the niggardly ally of Brittany had sent two thousand men to his aid, instead of the handful which would appear laughable to the French.

De Rieux could not refuse so reasonable and modest a demand, and d'Albret saw, with rage, that his plan had failed, and that he had only given an opportunity to his rival to appear with still more glory as the defender of the cause of Anne of Brittany.

Scarcely was this difference adjusted, and the Orleans party had taken their places in the ranks of the English, when the thunder of the French artillery proclaimed that the attack had began. The first shock was tremendous, for neither party, at that period, were accustomed to avoid its violence by precautions taken at later periods.* La Trimouïlle instantly attacked the Maréchal de Rieux's front, but making no impression, he turned on one side, and finding light cavalry there, he broke through their ranks, and falling with a rapid

* MSS. de M. de Bethune. D'Argentré, &c.

movement on the corps de bataille, he encountered the Bretons mounted on the horses of the Orleans party; unfortunately, they were unable to manage their unaccustomed steeds, and were overturned, as if by a torrent, by the King's men at arms. This was the beginning of the rout and carnage that ensued. The French directed all their fury against the foreigners, as they called all in the Breton camp who had interfered in the quarrel between the King and the Duke. They avoided, as much as possible, injuring their compatriots, and took all prisoners that they could find. Between five and six thousand men soon lay dead on the field, on the Breton side, and fifteen hundred on the French.

Amongst the chief prisoners was the Prince of Orange, who was attempting to rally the fugitives in a wood, when, finding himself alone, he tore from his breast the black cross which distinguished the Bretons, and cast himself, on his face, amongst slaughtered heaps of the slain Germans, who had been sent by Maximilian to the aid of his affianced bride. He was recognised by the "écrevisse," which he wore as his badge, and carried off prisoner.

But the most important event of the day was the taking of the Duke of Orleans, who, after performing acts of valour worthy of a hero of old, was dragged from under a heap of slain, and borne to a mean house in the town, where a violent contest took place amongst the soldiers, who recognised their prisoner, respecting his ransom. The Captain, Louis de l'Hôpital, into whose hands he had fallen, had much difficulty in defending the town from the soldiery, who insisted that

the price of his freedom should be paid to them. The Duke, impatient at the insolence of these men, entreated de l'Hôpital to lend him a sword, that he might fight his way through the disputants: the Captain represented to him that a prisoner could not be allowed a sword, but that he would command his soldiers to retire. Soon after this, La Trimouïlle, informed of the important capture, himself arrived and treated Louis with the utmost respect. He caused him and the Prince of Orange to be taken to his tent, and ordered a supper to be prepared for them, seating himself at the table opposite.

While the repast was going on, the two prisoners observed two Cordeliers enter the tent, and both felt convinced that their last moments were come. La Trimouïlle, who observed the looks they exchanged, addressed them, saying :—

"Princes, I have no power to order anything respecting you; that is reserved for the King to do: but, for you, soldiers," he added, turning to the other prisoners who were standing at a distance, awaiting their fate, "who have quitted the service of your King to range yourselves on the side of his enemies, confess yourselves without delay, for death awaits you."*

The Duke, with tears and passionate eloquence, implored for mercy for his followers, but both he and the Prince of Orange solicited in vain: all who were taken wearing the Black Cross of Brittany, were executed on the spot.†

* De Bethune.

† Jean Bouchon, in his "Annales d'Aquitaine," contributes these quaint lines, in relation to the battle of St. Aubin de Cormier :—

L'an malheureux pour les Bretons
Mil quatre cent quatre vingt huist,
Furent occis comme moutons
Pres Sainit Aubin entre les *tons* (mons ?)
Par les François dont fut grand bruict.

The battle occurred on the 28th July, 1488.

In the "Revue Bretonne" of P. Zaccone, published in 1844, he throws great doubt on the probability of the Princess Anne having conceived any passion for the Duke of Orleans at this time, as *she despatched*, he says, a courier to Maximilian to inform him of the result of the battle of St. Aubin. Even if this were the case it scarcely proves the fact: Anne was not then Duchess, and it must have been her father who sent "Jean de Plouer Sieur de Trevanalouen," who was his Ecuyer, and, if she sent soon afterwards, signing herself as Duchess, as d'Argentré relates, she was, of course, acting according to the imperious instructions of her Ministers. That she did not entertain a hope of being united to Orleans at that time is evident, and that she thought it her duty to fulfil the contract with Maximilian is as much so, whatever *preference* she might have felt. Her extreme youth is no argument against her attachment.

CHAPTER IX.

THE END OF THE JOURNEY—REMONSTRANCE OF AN HONEST MAN—ENGAGEMENTS WITH FRANCE—DEATH OF THE DUKE OF BRITTANY—TENDER CARE FOR THE HEIRESS—ANNE'S RESOLUTION—SUCCOUR BEGGED FROM ENGLAND—THE DE ROHANS—THE BETROTHAL—FRIENDS AND FOES—DUNOIS' SECRET.

THE Court of France was at Angers awaiting the event of this important battle, and the exultation of the Regent Anne was unbounded when she found that the general she had selected had crowned her hopes with success, and brought her enemies to her feet. The young King heard the tidings with different feelings, and, whether his sister feared his pity and generosity, or knew the part he had had in the apparent rebellion of his cousin, and dreaded the effect of his remorse, she used every means to prevent the prisoners being, as he requested, brought before him. The tears of the unfortunate Duchess Jeanne of Orleans were unavailing with the Regent, that a chance should be given them of her brother's mercy, on which she relied; and both were carefully secured from approaching Charles, although he had sent a company of his own guards to bring the Duke of Orleans before him.

Louis was taken first to Sablé, where he was placed

under the charge of the Duke de Bourbon, husband of the Regent, who had succeeded to his brother's title; here he remained but a short period, and, probably to evade the inquiries of the King, was then removed to Lusignan, from whence, after a time, he was conveyed to Meun sur Yerre, and his ill-omened journey closed at Bourges en Berry, where the Great Tower offered him a dungeon and *an iron cage* in which to end his wanderings and the great hopes which he had so long indulged. The Duke of Orange was taken to Pont de Cé, and afterwards transferred to the Castle of Angers, but he had not in the Regent Anne a disappointed and mortified foe as Louis had, and his imprisonment was less rigorous, and lasted a comparatively short time.

The Duke of Brittany, hunted from town to town, struggled in vain against the tide that had set against him: he became powerless in the hands of his successful foes, and was obliged to yield to their dictation in so many instances that he trembled for the safety of the succession which he had had so much trouble to secure. He had more than ever cause of anxiety, for the King of France openly laid claim to his dukedom as his right, in virtue of a cession made by one of his female ancestors, who had sold her claims to France: and, but for the noble remonstrance of one of the* Ministers of Charles VIII., the Regent had resolved to carry fire and sword throughout his dominions without mercy or pity.

Amongst the few whose probity incited them to resist the anger of Anne de Bourbon was the Chan-

* Mem. d'une personne d'esprit.

cellor Rochefort, a man much respected by all parties. He it was who saved Brittany at this juncture, by arguing "that Christian Princes should not imitate the Alexanders and Cæsars of old, whose glory consisted in taking the goods of others: but that justice ought to guide their acts, and he contended that if the King had really any right to Brittany, his claim should be referred to law and equity, and not decided by force of arms; for," he added, "*a conqueror without right is but an illustrious robber.*"

This honourable advice was listened to, and a treaty of peace at length entered into, to which the Duke, who was at Coiron, on the Loire, with his two daughters, agreed. He had been obliged to quit his capital, with his family and Court, in consequence of the plague which, added to his other misfortunes, raged in that city.

The Duke himself, though suffering both in mind and body, might have even yet survived both war and pestilence, but a fall from his horse brought a return of illness, and reduced him to extremity at the moment when his affairs were in this critical position.

On the 28th of August, 1488, exactly a month after the battle of St. Aubin, François signed the conditions imposed by France,* by which he engaged, first, to send out of his dominions all foreigners who had aided the war against the King, and that neither he nor his successors would ever employ their assistance against

* In order to get out of his troubles, François vowed to present the model of the city of Nantes, in wax, to Nôtre Dame de l'Annonciade at Florence. He died, however, before this could be done.—*Taillandier.*

France; and, secondly, he bound himself not to form any alliances for his daughters without the consent of the King himself. This latter clause was particularly insisted upon, in order to put an end at once to all the pretensions of the suitors of the Princess Anne. The greatest precautions were taken that this engagement should be fulfilled, and all the nobles of Brittany were required to set their hands and seals to the promise. It was added that, in case of this condition being observed, the King would treat the Princesses as his nearest and dearest relatives, and would afford them his protection and safeguard in every way. Then followed a long list of engagements of less importance in the eyes of the dying Prince, to all of which he consented.

But a few days afterwards, finding that his last hour was approaching, Duke François made his will, in which he instituted the Maréchal de Rieux guardian to his two daughters, associating with him the Count de Comminges, recommending both not to act without the approval of the Count de Dunois,* and desired that Madame de Laval should still remain attached to the Princesses as their governess. He named his wish that the County of Penthièvre should be restored to the children of the Seigneur d'Albret, in order to repay him for his services, but he said nothing relative to the marriages of his heiress or her sister.

The morning after this will was made, François II., last Duke of Brittany, expired.

* Varillas says: "The Comte de Condom, who was to succeed him in case of the death of de Rieux." D'Argentré remarks: "Cette pauvre jeune dame demeura après la mort de son père, *de tous points desolée.*"

The young Duchess was taken from Coiron immediately on the event, probably for greater security, to Guerande, where, in much grief and distress, she was hailed as having inherited her father's vast possessions, but his wars and dangers in their train. She was without hesitation proclaimed at once his heir, and no time was lost in sending an embassy to King Charles to announce the event, who forthwith despatched Ambassadors in return to condole and compliment, at the same time assuring her that his intention was to observe the treaty of peace just concluded; but the King entreated her to consent to three propositions: First, that as her very near relation, he should be her guardian and director, as also of the Princess Isabeau, her sister; and that he should have the entire charge of their lands and lordships during their minority. Secondly, that as there were disputes pending respecting their respective rights to the duchy of Brittany, the titles on each side should be produced, in order that arbitrators should be appointed immediately to decide the question; and that, pending that decision, the Princess Anne should not take the title of Duchess. Thirdly, that all strangers should quit the country according to the treaty.

The young Duchess's reply to these propositions was taken to France by a deputation which set forth that she had no intention of infringing the articles of the treaty, and to prove it, had already convoked the States of Brittany, in order that it might be ratified.

Not yet thirteen years of age, Anne of Brittany found herself in one of the most dangerous positions it was possible for a female to be placed in. The extrava-

gance of Landais, and the expenses of the wars lately carried on, had been such that nothing was left in her treasury; leather money, with a small piece of silver in the centre, had been current for some time.* Scarcely one of her Ministers were of the same opinion, all were violent on their own side, and steadily battled for their own interests, and the plague continued its ravages, while a French army stood ready, at the slightest signal, to pour down upon her already desolated country.

Young as she was, the extraordinary circumstances in which she was placed, roused all the energy of her nature, and the first time that Anne was called upon to reply to the addresses of her Ministers at the meeting of the States, she proved that her character was formed, and that henceforth she was capable of conducting her own affairs, and had a resolute will which refused to yield to intimidation.† When the Maréchal de Rieux again brought forward his favourite scheme of uniting her to the Comte d'Albret, she stood forward in opposition, and, with eloquence that astonished her hearers, gave her reasons for rejecting his offers. She contended that he had not, in the first instance, fulfilled the engagement he had made to succour her father, whose promise was gained under that consider-

* This sort of money was common in France in the time of the captivity of King Jean in England. In the notes to Godefroy and Langlet du Fresnoy's Comines, it is remarked: "Ce n'etoit point tant par dissette; que parceque n'y ayant point de monnaye de Billon on faisoit la petite monnaye en argent pur et pour qu'elle ne se perdit pas, on l'appliquoit sur un morceau de cuir, qui fait un volume plus maniable." Edit. 1747. 4to.

† D'Argentré exclaims: "Et le haut cœur d'icelle qui avait!—fille qu'elle étoit."

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ation; that instead of bringing immense support from Gascony, from Navarre, Castile, and Arragon, as he boasted he could do, he came with only three hundred Spaniards, and the battle of St. Aubin had been lost. That she knew her father disliked the idea of her becoming the wife of a man of so unprepossessing an appearance, a widower, aged, and the father of twelve children; but that in his weak state of health, unable to support the continued importunities of her governess, Madame de Laval, who had great influence with him, he had at last agreed, but only on the conditions she named, which had not been fulfilled. That even in spite of her father's entreaties and commands, she had herself never ceased to protest against the match, and that her repugnance had been intimated to the Comte d'Albret himself. She added that it was an act contrary to all propriety, and against the interests of Brittany, that the richest heiress of Christendom should be thus urged against her will, and she ended by exclaiming that rather than submit to this marriage she would retire at once to a monastery and take the veil.

So much spirit and resolution, in one so young, astonished and awed the Ministers, and they saw at once that it was no weak and timid child with whom they had to deal, but a Princess conscious of her dignity, firm in her determinations, and aware of her power.

After having made this public announcement, she took private means to secure support, by despatching, secretly, an attached servant of her father's, named Jean le Bouteiller, experienced in these sorts of missions,

with letters to Henry VII. of England, sealed with her own hand, in which she begged for succour, and the interference of her father's old friend, to rescue her from the marriage with d'Albret, which she protested she would not submit to. She represented that Duke François had been forced to agree to it against his own wish, that d'Albret had procured a dispensation from the Pope by false pretences, when he knew her resolution to refuse. She was supported in this act by the advice of her Chancellor, de Montauban, who considered d'Albret by no means a suitable match for her, and who himself undertook to inform the Count of his opinion.

A scene of great violence ensued between d'Albret and de Montauban, when the latter, in no measured terms,* made known the Duchess's dislike. Swords were drawn and reproaches bandied, but in the end de Rieux, in anger, retired to his Castle, de Comminges absented himself at St. Gildas, and the Comte d'Albret retired from the contention for the present.

Immediately after this, King Charles sent a deputation requiring that his wards, as he insisted on considering the Princesses, should be placed under his care, as his intention was to ally them both to the two sons of the house of Rohan, in whose favour he should resign all

* D'Argentré describes that de Rieux and d'Albret "irritez de ce, firent dire au Chancelier que s'il avançoit plus fort en ses significations et exploits ils luy feroient la teste sanglante, luy disant le Maréchal vis-à-vis qu'il mettroit l'espée au poing pour l'en empescher. Sur quoy il se trouva un grand tumulte et rumeur entre eux, et lors se joignèrent avec la Duchesse les gens de la maison du Comte de Dunois, et le Sieur de Lornay, Captaine des Alleman."—*D'Argentré Hist. de Bret.*

claim to the duchy; but, unless this was agreed to, the Ministers of the Duchess were given to understand that the King would not allow his pretensions to the country to sleep. The dislike to the family of de Rohan in Brittany was so great that the mere proposition was considered an insult.*

Driven to extremity, Anne, afraid to trust to the support of England, which had so often withheld assistance from her father, and aware that the cause of the Duke of Orleans was hopeless, now that he was a prisoner in the Grosse Tour de Bourges, was, at length, constrained to turn her thoughts towards Maximilian, King of the Romans, to whom she considered that her father's most serious promise had been given.

This was the match that, after that with d'Albret, the Maréchal de Rieux was the most inclined to, and, deceiving himself into the idea that the parsimonious Emperor Frederick, father of the King of the Romans, would gladly assist his son with money to secure so great an heiress, he agreed to the proposition of the Princess, and sent, instantly, messengers to Maximilian to inform him that he had only to land in Brittany, without delay, accompanied in a manner befitting his rank, and the Bretons were ready to accept him as the husband of their Duchess. The news was received with

* The Vicomte de Rohan was called by the Bretons *disgwiron*, felon prince; so detested was the race, during these unhappy wars, in which they took such distinguished parts against Brittany, that it passed into a proverb to say of a mean, cowardly, treacherous, or dishonourable person, "*Dibri a ra d'ann éo evel ma ra Rohan*," "He eats at the manger like Rohan," meaning at the table of the King of France.—See *Notes to De la Villemarqué's Barzas. Breiz.*

the utmost satisfaction by the King of the Romans, and he sent immediately his nearest friend, Wolfgang Baron de Polhaim, to conclude the match, as his representative; but he could not come himself, as he was in the utmost distress for money, and nothing would induce his father to part with a sou of his immense riches, even to secure so great an object. Had he arrived at the moment his presence was so much desired, all would have been well for him; but a mere ceremony was gone through of betrothal which, though followed by still further demonstrations, was, by the continued absence of the expected bridegroom, rendered null and void.*

But before Wolfgang de Polhaim's arrival, when the ceremony of a marriage by proxy was to take place, as soon as King Charles found that the young Duchess intended to act according to her own views, he sent the Count de St. Quentin, brother of the Vicomte de Rohan, to endeavour to persuade the people of Gwengamp to espouse his interests, representing that the King's only motive was to serve the Duchess. The people of Gwengamp, however, stood firm, and replied respectfully that they could do nothing without the orders of the Duchess herself, and must await them before they could enter into any negotiation. It soon became evident to the whole country that France only required a plausible pretext to renew hostilities, and when the news of the proposed alliance with Maximilian became known, offence being instantly

* The contract of marriage was preserved in the Archives of Rennes; and for a year after, Anne was called *Queen*, and Maximilian, Duke of Brittany, in protocols and the letters of the Chancellor, and in all proclamations.

taken, the whole of Brittany was on the alert to defend, while the French recommenced hostilities by attacking, all the towns within their reach.

A misunderstanding had always existed between the Maréchal de Rieux and the Chancellor de Montauban, who appears to have been the most sincere of those who surrounded the young Duchess, and who opposed many of the measures of her chief guardian, in which he was sometimes supported by de Comminges, who had his own intentions, as yet unavowed. These two nobles had supported Anne in her rejection of d'Albret, and they now appeared ready to promote her marriage with Maximilian.

The flame of war, quenched for a time, now broke forth anew, and all its horrors recommenced. Anne was forced to fly from town to town, as her father had done, to escape falling into the hands of the French, who were continually laying plots to get her into their power and carry her off to France. The Count de Montauban, in whom she had the most confidence, was entreated by her not to leave her for a moment; and he was faithful to his trust, as long as he saw a hope remaining of her independence.

There was another friend in whom Anne trusted implicitly, although the interests he had espoused were not now to be considered: she felt convinced of the honour and judgment of Dunois, and to him she turned for advice in her worst difficulties, shunning de Rieux, and justly uncertain of the sincerity of de Comminges. But Dunois, although he was tenderly cautious of the person of the Duchess, and inflexible in asserting her

rights, had views which he considered more favourable to her advantage than any of those which her Ministers and her people entertained. The time was not come for him to declare his opinion, but he watched the progress of events, and he felt certain that all was tending towards the point from which he not only saw no escape, but which he desired should be attained.

Dunois had fled from the Bastille of St. Aubin at great risk of his life, for he was not a warrior, and did not engage in arms; his office was to direct and advise, and no one was more fitted by nature for the office of counsellor, however adverse circumstances had hitherto thwarted his intents. Although brave as his father, the accident of his enormous size prevented him from pursuing a military career, and he was content with diplomacy instead of the glory to be attained by the sword. With infinite caution, he sounded several of the chief nobles of Brittany on the subject he had at heart, and he soon found that many would not shrink from aiding his views in case of affairs taking the turn he anticipated: nor did he see reason to despair of gaining over all the most important to his opinion. Meanwhile, he did all in his power to shield the young Duchess from the dangers that surrounded her, and watched narrowly against the treachery he suspected in many quarters.

CHAPTER X.

THE PRISONER OF BOURGES—THE WIFE—THE INTERVIEW—THE INJURIES OF LOUIS—DREAMS AND MEMORIES—GALLANT CAPTAINS—THE BRETON HERO—TOMINA AL-LEAN—THE SIEGE OF GWENGAMP—BALLAD.

WHILE all these events, so important to the young Duchess, were going on, and while others were preparing, which were entirely to change the whole objects of his life, Louis of Orleans was wasting his valuable existence in a frightful dungeon in that strong fortress, part of which still exists, and which is still, as then, called, La Grosse Tour de Bourges. For nearly three years, the young, ardent, ambitious and incautious Prince, the favourite of the Court, the adored of the people, and the most gallant and generous knight of his time, had been subjected to a rigorous confinement, which none but the most implacable and cruel enemy could have inflicted, and to which none but the most powerful would have dared to subject a Prince of the Blood, and the next heir to the Crown of France.

A mortified woman's vengeance dictated the refinement of barbarity which confined him, not only in a chill, low chamber, almost without light, but caused him to be placed every night in a cage of iron, such as

De Comines suffered in at Loches for his cause, and such as Cardinal Balue had been the first to recommend for others, and earn, by manifold treacheries, for himself.

But for the records still preserved in the archives of France, the existence of such means of torture could scarcely be credited, but there exist too many confirmations of facts of the kind to doubt them, and the recent rescue of many more French records from the cartridge-boxes* of the military, which they have, for a series of years, been allowed to supply, will doubtless confirm the worst features of similar relations, while they furnish an immense amount of historical knowledge, beyond calculation valuable in making familiar the intimate habits of the middle ages.

From the time that the malignity of her sister had condemned the Duke of Orleans to a punishment so severe, the unfortunate Princess Jeanne, his wife—whose patience and virtue merited a better return of the affection she bore her husband—had never ceased to importune the Regent in his favour, but without obtaining the smallest amelioration of his condition. So fearful was the Duchess of Bourbon that her tears and supplications would have an effect on the King, who was tenderly attached to her, and whose kind heart was beginning to be known, that she employed every art, and exerted every effort, to prevent their meeting, ex-

* The Minister of the Interior has just ordered the examination of numerous bundles of parchment, hitherto used for cartridges, by which great treasures of history, in record of the expenses of the Kings of France, from Charles V. to Henry IV., have been discovered.—*Moniteur*, Nov. 4, 1853.

cept in public; and, as the sorrowing Jeanne seldom appeared at great ceremonies, she had not even then the opportunity to plead her cause.

At length it reached the ears of Charles that his cousin was seriously ill in his prison; and the Regent, alarmed at his perseverance in making inquiries, and fearing that her rigour would be harshly commented on by the people, allowed herself to be so far softened, that permission was given to Jeanne to visit her husband in his sickness. Accordingly, she set forth, with a trembling heart, towards the place of his detention; and it is said, that, when she came within sight of the Grosse Tour, she burst into a passion of tears, which she was unable to repress when she was conducted to the dungeon, in which she beheld him pale, worn, and languishing in untended sickness.

She exclaimed, on entering, "Ah, Monsieur! en quel êtat vous voilà?"

Louis, looking up from his miserable bed, on seeing who it was whose voice had startled his wretched musings, turned away, saying: "Madam, you have reason to hate me, but leave me in peace!"

This cold reception did not deter the pitying Jeanne from entreating to be allowed to share his prison and attend to him. He could not be induced to believe that she was not sent by her sister to triumph over his fallen state, and requested that she would excuse his accepting her services. Twice she returned with the same humble petition, but her unloving husband was inexorable, and she was compelled to abandon her design. She would not, however, leave Bourges, but,

lodging in a convent there, she sold her jewels to furnish him with the necessaries which the cruelty of the Regent had denied.*

The harshness shown by Louis to this amiable woman would be scarcely reconcileable with the extreme kindness of his character, and that remarkable forgiveness of injuries which distinguished him in after life to an almost incredible degree. But at this period the great qualities he subsequently showed were scarcely ripened, and he was suffering under the deepest affliction that could fall to the lot of man. He knew that his friends were ruined, banished, and imprisoned for his sake; no friendly voice told him when any propitious accident had relieved them; he was tortured in a dungeon, sick at heart and in spirit; he had leisure to brood over all the wrongs he had sustained, to recal the restraint of his early years under the most subtle tyrant that the world had produced, whose pastime had consisted in insulting† and injuring him; he had been forced into

* Vie de la Venerable Servante de Dieu Jeanne de Valois. Par le Père Pierre de Mareuil. Paris, 1741. In this life a variety of miracles are recorded, which, however, do not invalidate the truth of her amiability and patience.

† Mary de Clèves, Duchess of Orleans, his mother, had re-married beneath her rank, and scandal had been busy with her reputation. On one occasion, after the forced marriage of Louis and Jeanne, when the former was tauntingly asked by Louis XI. how he was satisfied with the union, Louis burst forth with a burlesque enumeration of his wife's beauties and qualities. The King, perfectly aware of his aversion to his daughter, replied sarcastically, suddenly stopping him in the midst of his praises: "You forgot to add that the Princess is not only virtuous and well-conducted, but that she is the daughter of a mother *whose honour was never suspected.*"

The husband of the widow of Charles of Orleans was the Sieur de Rabodanges, her maître d'hotel. He was, however, a man of high birth,

a marriage he detested; forced to live with the partner he sought to avoid, and whose good qualities were perhaps concealed from him by her timidity and his coldness; he had been persecuted by the love at first, and the hate afterwards, of the most vindictive and artful of her sex;—and all these wrongs combined had deprived him of the power of following the passion of his heart, which had but the more increased in opposition and in solitude.

Stung by all these memories, he was still further, as he imagined, insulted by the presence of one who, his conscience told him, he had not well treated, and who was now sent to reproach and humiliate him. However false his appreciation of the character of the saintly Jeanne, there are excuses to be found for him, when all these circumstances are considered. Every lingering, solitary day his liberty seemed further and further from him, and the only happiness left—that of indulging in dreams of what might have been—was disturbed and destroyed by the sight of her whose fatal tie upon him had prevented his marriage with the fair and powerful heiress whose alliance could have made him independent of all his enemies.

If that dream were ever renewed when, after his recovery, owing to the cares of his contemned wife, he was once more able to review his lost opportunities, it was destined to be rudely ended, and by the means of the truest and most judicious of his friends. When his dungeon was again visited it was by one who restored

descended from one of the most ancient houses of Picardy.—*Dreux du Radier.*

him to liberty at the expense of all his romantic aspirations.

Although, of course, the prisoner was unacquainted with the steps taken by his friends in his behalf, he was too young and too sanguine to allow himself to despair, and he still trusted in the fidelity and affection of those in whom he had long relied. He did not know that Dunois had vainly sought to soften the heart of the Regent, and had at length abandoned the attempt, only the better to "bide his time." He did not know that his fast friend, the Duke d'Angoulême, had sent solicitations and letters by the hands of trusty messengers, one of whom was St. Gelais de Montlieu, the future historian of the reign of "The Father of His People;" and that his packet, though it was supposed to have reached the King, was read by his ambitious sister, who returned the answer instead of his pitying cousin Charles. "The Duchess and her husband," says Montlieu, "gave us fine words, but that was all—nothing came of them!"

Meanwhile, the French army followed up its successes. Three generals of the house of Rohan led the troops from town to town, even to the extremities of Basse Bretagne, but all was not gained without difficulty. The young Duchess did not want enthusiastic friends nor gallant captains, and amongst them were two heroes who defended her cause with an energy and intrepidity worthy of the knights of chivalry. These were two Bretons, named Chero and Gouicket, whose prodigies of valour are recorded by all the chroniclers of the time. At the siege of Gwengamp, in answer to a summons to

surrender, their answer was, "As long as there is a Duchess in Brittany we will not give up her towns;" they made a desperate resistance, at the head of all the young men of the town, who had resolved to devote themselves for her sake whose youth, beauty, and misfortunes kindled in their minds a flame of loyalty which almost amounted to adoration, and which never died out in the hearts of her Breton subjects.

Notwithstanding the bravery, however, of these gallant youths, Gwengamp was taken, after the French had been twice beaten back by its defenders; and they were obliged to listen to a truce, for treachery was at work within the town; the enemy was admitted to pillage and destroy, and Chero was made prisoner. Gouicket, though badly wounded, contrived to escape, and reached Rennes in time to be ready for the defence of that city.

The gallant Captain, Gouicket, who defended the town of Gwengamp, became the hero of the Bretons, who afterwards erected a statue to him in the town, which, says M. de la Villemarqué, in his admirable and valuable collection of Breton popular ballads, unrivalled in their pathos and energy, and exquisitely rendered by him into modern French, "represented him bareheaded, with his long locks, armed at all points, and with a sword in his hand." This statue had survived the lapse of centuries, but was destroyed in the first great Revolution!

The wife of Gouicket shared all the honours of her husband, and takes her place by the side of those heroines whose names are immortal in France, such as

Jeanne d'Arc, Jeanne de Montfort, and Jeanne la Hachette. She is called by the Bretons Tomina Al-Léan, which the French have changed to Thomine Lemoine.*

In the following ballad of "The Siege of Gwengamp" some inaccuracies as to date appear, the poet having placed the events together which occurred at different periods; for Gouicket, the cannonier or porter, as he is called in the song, was not wounded by a shot, but by the thrust of a lance, and it was not at the moment when he was carried away wounded that Tomina took his place, but on a second occasion, some months later. Neither was the Duchess in the town, which picturesque circumstance, however, suited the poet better, and the licence may be forgiven.

The miraculous ringing of the bells can be explained in a manner little less remarkable and poetical than the poet recounts. It appears that Gouicket, having been able to find reinforcements, after his escape, returned, much to the consternation of the French, who, finding their conquest untenable, sounded the tocsin themselves and abandoned the town.

THE SIEGE OF GWENGAMP.†

"Ho! Porter, open wide the gate—
Obey the Lord of Rohan's call,
Twelve thousand warriors on him wait,
And 'tis decreed Gwengamp shall fall."

* The mother of M. de la Villemarqué, "also the mother of the poor," to whose patriotism he was much indebted in the collection of his ballads, he names as the last descendant of the defenders of Gwengamp. The French spell the Captain's name Gouiquet.

† Séziz Gwengamp. Dialecte de Tréguier.

"Neither to him, nor Lord beside,
This gate shall ever open wide;
The Duchess Anne will keep her own:
She can command—and she alone.

"And chief to that disloyal knight
Who, with twelve thousand, bars her right,
And dares to come Gwengamp before,
Our gates shall never open more.

"My walls are high, my gates are strong,
I blush that we gave ear so long!
Gwengamp, the faithful and the free,
Yields not to traitors such as he!

"For eighteen months though he should stay,
Gwengamp should be no traitor's prey.
Courage!—load, load your cannon well!
And *who* repent let Fortune tell.

"Hold—thirty bullets—thirty more,
Of powder we have ample store,
And lead and brass if it shall need,
Courage once more, and load with speed!"

And while he bravely went and came
A shot has reached its deadly aim;
Gwazgarant—evil be his cheer!—
Has struck our noble cannonier!

Then to his wife, the Duchess, cried:
"Oh, holy saints! what will betide!
What fate is destined for us all,
Who see thy gallant husband fall!"

"And if my husband should be dead,
His wife shall guard your town instead,
Her hand shall point his cannon true,
Thunder and fire;* the charge renew."

* "Tan! ha gurun!"—thunder and fire! so in the original ballad.

But while she speaks the walls give way,
The gates are forced, the foes rush in,
They fill the streets with wild dismay,
The people shriek amidst the din.

"To you there's many a maid shall bow;
For me is gold and silver store,
Gwengamp and all her treasures now
Are in our grasp—one effort more!"

The Duchess Anne has heard that word,
Down on her knees she trembling fell,
"Oh, holy Mother, aid afford,
Mother of Help! oh, help us well!"

The Duchess Anne fled fast away,
And to the church she ran with speed,
There on the cold, bare earth she lay,
And prayed for succour at our need.

"Oh, Holy Virgin! shall thy shrine
A stable for their steeds be made,
Thy sacristy a cell for wine,
Their feast be on thy altar laid?"

While thus she prays, a panic falls
On all the town,—a sudden dread,
A charge of cannon shakes the walls,
Nine hundred men lie prone and dead.

A dire confusion spreads around,
The houses rent and tottering stand,
And through the air is heard the sound
Of bells that ring, without a hand!

"My page, so blithe in hall and bower,
Light art thou, gay, and bold, and proud,
Mount quickly to the Level Tower,
And see who rings the bells so loud.

"Thou wear'st a good sword by thy side,
If any traitor thou shouldst see,
Who sounds our bells so far and wide,
Pierce with thy sword his heart for me."

He mounted swift, with footsteps light,
But down descended, pale with awe,
"Lady, I reached the turret height,
But there no human creature saw."

"I saw no human creature's face,
But 'twas the Blessed Virgin bright,
She and her Son were in that place,
And rang the bells with main and might."

Then cried the felon Prince: "Away!
Let us begone, our time we lose,
Forward! 'twere madness to delay,
Leave to the saints the home they choose!"

CHAPTER XI.

THE DUCHESS DEPARTS FROM RHEDON—SHE ARRIVES BEFORE NANTES —HER COMMAND—DANGER—THE GAME OF ENGLAND—THE PHYSICIAN—THE INUNDATION OF TROOPS—THE TRAITOR D'ALBRET'S TREATY—DE RIEUX'S REMORSE—PARDON AND INDEMNITY—THE POPE—RESISTANCE TO PAPAL AGGRESSION.

THE Duchess was, meantime, awaiting succours from England, but Henry VII. hesitated to make war on the country to which he owed his crown, and put her off as long as possible with delay, writing meanwhile to the King of France, in hopes to accommodate matters. There was great sympathy in England for the Duchess of Brittany, and the King was much blamed for his tardiness in affording her the assistance promised.

While this expected aid was still delayed, Anne, fearing to be surprised by the French at Rhedon, whither she had fled, was anxious to go to Nantes, as more secure, and sent to the Maréchal de Rieux and the Comte de Comminges, desiring them to hasten with troops, in order to conduct her with the greater safety. She had received intelligence that the French were already at Montfort, and there was no time to lose, for Rhedon was not fortified. She waited

in great anxiety for their arrival, when she heard with indignation that, instead of obeying her, they had both gone to Nantes, and were there joined by the Sieur d'Albret. She could not doubt that their intention was to prejudice the people of Nantes against her by spreading a report that Dunois intended to deliver up both her and the town to the King of France.

In this dilemma Anne showed great firmness of character; she rode out of Rhedon with the very small body-guard of ten Bretons, accompanied by the Chancellor de Montauban, and reached La Pasquelaye, about three leagues from Nantes, where she was joined by Dunois and a reinforcement of troops.

She then sent forward to desire that the gates of Nantes should be opened to her, to which the reply was, that she was free to do so, with her private guard and the officers of her household, but that the Count de Dunois and the Chancellor de Montauban must remain in the fauxbourgs. This she refused to do, on which d'Albret, de Rieux, and de Comminges, throwing off all appearance of allegiance, marched out of the town in a hostile manner, with artillery and a large body of the inhabitants, with the intention of forcing the Duchess to enter the town alone.

Far from exhibiting any alarm, the spirit of the young Duchess rose with her danger, and her pride deeply wounded at this disregard of her commands, she resolved to resist to the utmost, and, mounting behind her Chancellor (according to the custom of the time),* she rode fearlessly forward, while Dunois

* It was usual at this period for ladies of the highest distinction to

ordered the troops to be drawn up in order of battle. But the townspeople of Nantes no sooner beheld her than they objected to use force, and remonstrated with those who were leading them to rebel, requiring their instant return. The disappointed leaders, the next day, took care to disembarrass themselves of the citizens, and made another sally, with the intention of surprising her party and carrying the Duchess off.

Dunois, however, was on the alert, and advanced to speak to the rebel chiefs, agreeing that the Duchess should enter the town properly accompanied. Accordingly, she approached as near as the fauxbourgs, and then sent a messenger to de Rieux, desiring to know in what manner the citizens intended to receive her.* The reply was by no means satisfactory. It was proposed that she should enter Nantes by a *fausse porte* of the Castle, which should be opened to her on the side next the river, but the same objection as at

appear in public mounted on pillions, sometimes behind their husbands, or, as in the instance of the Duchess, behind their chamberlain. It was not considered proper for ladies to ride in any other way—their squire or valet serving as a support as he sat on his saddle before them. Monstrelet notices, as a thing to be wondered at, that the Countess de St. Pol, being in great haste to reach her dying husband, should have mounted in a saddle alone. "La Comtesse et Walleran arriveient trop tard, nonobstenant que pour elles plus haster venir, chevauchêrent *en jambées sur chevaux trottans.*"

Princesses generally had their favourite "*haquenées,*" on which they generally appeared on great occasions. At the funeral procession of Anne of Brittany, "marchait la hacquenée d'honneur accoustrée *comme le cheval de crouppe,* sauf que le dit cheval avait le *coisin paré pour porter en crouppe.*"—*Cérémonies Françaises.* See *Recherches Historiquës.* Par M. Leber.

* D'Argentré.

first was made to the entrance of Dunois, de Montauban, and the rest.

Anne, when she heard this insolent proposition, was excessively indignant, appealed to Dunois to protect her, and insisted on returning for answer that she would enter Nantes in no other manner than as Duchess and Sovereign of the country. She was greatly alarmed, seeing that the object of de Rieux was to get her into his power and oblige her to become the wife of d'Albret, in spite of her determined refusal.

She added a haughty message to the citizens of Nantes, commanding them to send deputies to deliberate with her on the subject of her entry. The townspeople were perfectly ready to do so, and at once named several deputies, but they were not permitted by de Rieux to quit the walls. For fifteen days the Duchess and her party were kept in the fauxbourgs of Nantes, when, becoming weary of expecting the submission of the lords, it was judged best that she should leave.

Finding that their prey was escaping, the rebels were resolved on one more attempt to obtain possession of her person; accordingly de Rieux and a strong party set forth with the intention of waylaying her on her route to Vannes, and did, in effect, come up with her, but, instead of flying before him, the Duchess no sooner perceived his intent than she turned her horse's head and rode boldly up to him, and, speaking with a firm voice, reproached him with his disloyalty and treachery, and commanded him to return instantly to the place he had left.

So surprised was de Rieux at this proof of her resolute spirit, and so awed were his soldiers, that they dared not attack her, and allowed her to continue her journey unmolested.

Soon after this the Duchess received messages from the city of Rennes, inviting her to put herself under the protection of the citizens, and to honour their walls with her presence. She gladly took advantage of so welcome an offer, and, in remarkable contrast to the conduct of Nantes, her entry was made with the utmost pomp, and she was received with a burst of enthusiasm and affection which re-assured her and gave new energy to her party.

The citizens showered rich presents upon her, and made the most vehement protestations of their attachment. They were indignant at the conduct of the people of Nantes, and the unworthy object of de Rieux, whose carefully-disseminated reports of the intended treachery of Dunois were, so far from gaining credit throughout Brittany, that the attempt to sow ill-feeling had the contrary effect to that which he hoped, and his own cruelty was loudly blamed in wishing to force the young Duchess into a marriage odious to her.

The country was now divided into three opposing parties: that of Anne herself, of de Rieux, and of the King of France. De Rieux was less blameable than he appeared, because he thought it against the interest of Brittany that any alliance should be made with France, and he suspected, not without reason, that the friends nearest to her were inclined to listen to the propositions of Charles.

Established for the time at Rennes, Anne began to feel more secure, and shortly after the promised succours arrived from England, Henry VII. being unable to delay longer without forfeiting his word altogether, and having been urged by de Rieux himself to send aid, if he did not wish to see Brittany in the power of France, but asking, at the same time, that the troops sent should be on his side. Spain also sent troops to assist her cause, at which Anne was greatly rejoiced, as she felt more confidence in their sincerity. Indeed, Henry of England was playing an artful game, and only watching an opportunity to elude the necessity of helping Brittany at the expense of a rupture with France, with which power he seems to have kept up intelligence, while he appeared friendly to the Duchess and to de Rieux by turns. Charles had sent, with other messengers, the future historian Gaguin, hoping to persuade Henry to take part with him; and, though the wily Monarch at the time appeared not to listen to his proposals, he reserved to himself the power of acting as he saw fit. He sent his physician, a man of great cunning and observation, on a private embassy to Anne, *sa bonne fille*, as he called her in his affectionate letters in answer to her entreaties; purporting to desire that explanations should be made to her alone. Dr. Ashbrook* (?) played his part so well that Anne, whose inexperience was scarcely a match for his subtlety, at first believed that she had found a true friend both in him and his master. He insinuated that Henry was

* Called *Yusbourch* by d'Argentré; *Eyvesworth* by the historian of the Ducs de Bretagne.

fearful of foul play, and had instructed him to guard the Duchess against poison. She became alarmed, and listened to his advice, sending him on an embassy to de Rieux, with whom she thought it safer to be on good terms, if she could get rid of the odious question of the d'Albret marriage. But, after a time, her penetration led her to suspect the smooth manners and advice of Henry's envoy for he began, by degrees, to persuade her to distrust those about her, recommending her to throw herself at once on the protection of the English army, who were ready to defend her, and who only waited her consent to join her at Rennes, or to receive her if she would repair to them.

This proposition at once opened her eyes, and convinced her that the English were in league with her guardian, de Rieux.

At this Anne sent a remonstrance to Henry, which set forth his perfidy in a light which ought to have caused him considerable confusion by its frankness and honesty. She let him know that while he was treating with her revolted lords she had, by the advice of the Kings of Spain and of the Romans, sent an embassy to France by the Count de Dunois, and, in order that nothing should pass prejudicial to the interests of England, she had joined in the embassy the English Provost, with an interpreter.

This was strictly the fact. Dunois had willingly undertaken the office of Ambassador, hoping to bring affairs to a favourable conclusion. The chief result of this embassy appears to have been a treaty of peace

concluded between the King of the Romans and King Charles, at Frankfort, in which the Duchess of Brittany was chiefly concerned, and her interests supposed to be the most considered, although there seemed little sincerity in the professions.

Meantime, the Prince of Orange had been pardoned by the King who agreed to his proposition to repair to his cousin Anne of Brittany in hopes of being useful to France and, above all, of preventing the renewal of the proposals of d'Albret. His arrival fortified the Duchess's party and renewed her confidence, shaken as it was on all sides.

Brittany was now inundated with soldiers of various nations: French, English, Spanish, Germans, and Bretons, the three parties contending against each other. Anne, reinforced as she was, now thought herself strong enough to summon the Maréchal de Rieux to give up the Château de l'Hermine which he held against her; this, however, he refused to do.

Five thousand French infantry at this time arrived in the country in spite of the Treaty of Frankfort by which Charles had consented not to send more in case the Duchess would dismiss the English and Spaniards. On this she sent a touching remonstrance to the King of France by her Ambassadors, who were charged to say "That she could scarcely persuade herself that she, who was an orphan and his near relation,* and who in this double quality had a right to look to him for protection, should be the object of such great persecution as she

* "Orfeline, et sa parente."—*Hist. de Ducs de Bretagne.*

experienced from him who sought to deprive her of the inheritance of her ancestors."

For reasons afterwards well enough explained, King Charles paid no attention to these remonstrances, nor did he, in any way, attend to the treaty of Frankfort, but pursued his former course of hostility, without apparent remorse. But there was peace between him and the King of the Romans, contradictory as were his acts; and Maximilian, hoping now to be able to fulfil his engagement with the Duchess, sent new Ambassadors to claim her promise, to which neither she nor her Council objected, nor was there any expressed dissent on the part of France.

Wolfgang de Polhaim, the most intimate friend of Maximilian, was named as proxy of the bridegroom; and a grand ceremony, in the Cathedral of Rennes, united the Duchess Anne and the King of the Romans. But still the real bridegroom was not there; and though Anne henceforth took the title of Queen, the selfish parsimony of the Emperor Frederick, and the want of enterprise of Maximilian himself—whose heart, no doubt, was not in the cause, for the loss of the wife he had really loved was too fresh in his memory—rendered this so-called marriage null and void.

But it threatened for ever to put an end to the ambitious projects of the enraged d'Albret who, impelled by a desire of revenge, immediately entered into a treaty with France to deliver up the city of Nantes on condition of full pardon, and in case the King would promote his marriage with Anne, when he professed himself

ready to allow a great part of the country to pass into the hand of Charles.

The King was exceedingly rejoiced at this proposition, which he, without hesitation, accepted; and the angry and revengeful suitor of the Queen of the Romans repaired forthwith to Moulins, where a treaty extremely advantageous to the Sieur d'Albret was signed by both parties. The King without a moment's delay despatched the Duke de Bourbon, husband of the Regent, to take possession of Nantes, which was yielded up to him by d'Albret; in a very short space of time after this, King Charles himself arrived and entered the chief town of Brittany in triumph as its master.

The Maréchal de Rieux, who was at Vannes contending with the troops of the Duchess, at the moment this transaction took place, was thunderstruck at the treachery of his former ally, for whom he had dared and done so much. He had, for some time, begun to open his eyes to the bad policy of insisting on a marriage so detested by his ward, and the private advice of England had tended to confirm his regret at the part he had taken. Determined, at length, by the conduct of d'Albret himself, he lost no time in making known to the Duchess his disgust at what had occurred, in assuring her that he had no part in the treachery, and in begging once more to be numbered amongst her friends.

Anne, happy in securing his powerful aid in such an emergency, sent him her forgiveness at once, but the Maréchal, fearing that his honour might suffer by her using publicly the word *pardon*, requested his mistress

to grant him letters, dated on the day he sent in his adherence, namely, the 9th of August, 1490, by which she should express her approval of all he had done since her father's death in what he considered the interests of the country.

She had, in fact, much to pardon, and many items named in the letters she forthwith granted must have appeared to her more worthy of punishment than favour, as, for instance, his having coined money without her concurrence; having taken possession of the treasure at Nantes to the amount of five hundred marks of gold and silver; and having laid siege to her town of Guerrande and others; but, for the sake of the public good, she overlooked all these misdemeanors, and, more than that, for all the losses he had sustained in the contest against herself, she consented to indemnify him. His Castles of Rieux, Ancenis, Rochefort, and Elven had been demolished, and he had been obliged to borrow large sums to pay his troops. A hundred thousand gold crowns, payable on the revenue of Nantes in ten years, ten thousand to be paid each year, were granted, besides a pension of twelve thousand livres. And thus ended the rebellion of the Maréchal de Rieux, the *guardian* of the young Duchess Anne, and her sister Isabel, whose death occurred at Rennes at the very time when this reconciliation was effected.

Notwithstanding the perilous position in which the young Duchess stood, she by no means gave way to dictation, nor would she allow the affairs of her duchy to be in any way neglected. An act which evidently emanated from herself, and did not depend upon the

advice of her Ministers alone, showed that the great spirit and resolution which was afterwards exhibited on so many occasions had very early manifested itself in her character. Anne was extremely religious, and throughout her career proved her respect for the Church, but she was jealous of her rights, and very sensitive of any infringement of them, both in matters spiritual and temporal.

Pope Innocent VIII., conceiving that so young a ruler would not venture to oppose any decree he might choose to send forth, took upon himself to act in the nomination of the clergy of Brittany, without condescending to consult the inclination of a young girl of fourteen; but Innocent had not taken into consideration that the Duchess Anne possessed judgment and intellect, matured far beyond her age in the school of danger and difficulty, and he was astonished and indignant to find that, when he appointed his two nephews, Cardinals Benevento and Anastasio, the former to fill the See of Vannes, and the latter to be Abbot of St. Melaine, of Rennes, the Duchess opposed the nomination with a vigour which admitted of no dispute. She issued her commands that these foreign prelates should not attempt to take possession, forbade any of her subjects to aid or receive them, and further ordered that in future no election should be made by the Chapters of Brittany without her own nomination, and that no Papal Bull should be received by them without its being first presented to her Chancellor or her Council, under pain of banishment and the confiscation of their temporal goods.

This procedure of the Court of Rome induced some members of the States assembled this year at Vannes, to propose the reception of the pragmatic sanction. Pope Innocent fulminated a Bull on the subject the next year,* but the Duchess had gained her point, and treated the ire of Rome with indifference.

* Hist. of the Dukes of Brittany. Paris, 1739. *Guyot Desfontaines.*

CHAPTER XII.

DUNOIS' SCHEME—THEY PROPOSE TO BREAK THE MARRIAGE WITH MAXIMILIAN—NEGOTIATIONS OF DUNOIS—JEANNE—THE PROPOSITION TO THE REGENT—THE CONDITIONS—THE FIRST SUCCESS—DUNOIS' ARGUMENTS—CAUTION.

CHARLES OF FRANCE, once in possession of Nantes, was content to give a brief repose to the country which he saw in his power and consented to a proposal which the persecuted Duchess Anne now made, in which she consented to dismiss all the English troops, whose absence was much more desirable in Brittany than the aid they afforded, for their licence and insolence were driving her subjects to despair. A cessation of hostilities ensued, and each party had a short repose from exertion and anxiety.

The time was now come when Dunois saw that the scheme he had long formed was approaching the propitious moment. His vain endeavours to obtain the freedom of his cousin the Duke of Orleans had entirely deprived him of a hope that the marriage he had so much desired between Louis and Anne could be accomplished, but he saw another mode which he thought fraught with good to all parties, and which, though difficult to bring about, he did not despair of succeeding

in. His credit was still good with Anne de Bourbon, whose hitherto boundless power was beginning to be shaken by the advance in years and judgment of Charles, and with the King himself he knew his influence; he did not doubt his means of persuasion both with the Nobles and Commons of Brittany, but he had a task to perform which he was aware would be seriously opposed by the Duchess and also by his imprisoned cousin for whose benefit he chiefly acted.

The marriage with Maximilian remained uncompleted, the bridegroom being less than ever able to redeem his pledge, and, now that de Rieux was on the side of his ward, Dunois was able to express to him his real feelings respecting its feasibility, and they both came to the conclusion that nothing could be worse for Brittany than that it should be ratified, for they argued that the extraordinary difficulties with which the King of the Romans had to contend in his own country, would render him powerless to defend his newly-acquired territory against the ambition of France; war would therefore become incessant, and the country, losing its Duchess, would be the prey to whatever nation attacked it. Maximilian would have no power to maintain the nobles in the positions to which they might be appointed; their possessions would become the spoil of neighbouring States, and ruin to all classes must result.

On the other hand, they considered that if the marriage with the Duchess and Maximilian were done away with, and her hand offered to Charles of France, it would become the King's interest to defend the country,

that he would have power to confirm all grants, to maintain the rights of all classes, to protect it against all aggression, and, by uniting his claims, which could not be resisted, with those of the Duchess, all contentions would for ever cease, and though Brittany would lose its individuality, it would gain greater distinction in its Duchess being Queen of France.

After mature deliberation, de Montauban and others were taken into their counsel, but no one as yet dared to hint to the Duchess herself the plan which all, in secret, at length adopted.

Dunois, whose genius for diplomacy was acknowledged to be of superior excellence, was charged to conduct this important and very delicate affair, and he forthwith set about the necessary negotiations.

The first person to be gained was Anne de Bourbon, in whose charge was the infant Princess Marguerite, daughter of Maximilian, brought up at the Court of France as the affianced wife of King Charles. The revolted people of Ghent had insisted on this alliance, which had never been liked by the King of the Romans, but in which he was not allowed a voice. When Charles entered Nantes in triumph, the Duchess of Bourbon and her husband had accompanied him, and following humbly, unnoticed and uncared for, came the neglected and devoted Jeanne, Duchess of Orleans, in the hope that, in the moment of success, her brother's ears would be open to her entreaties for the release of the prisoner of Bourges. But the Regent, more than ever severe against him, would not allow her sister access to the King. It is recorded that the unhappy Princess had to remain

almost all the night in the streets of Nantes,* while her attendants vainly endeavoured to procure a lodging for her, none having been appointed, and the concourse of the Court being extreme. At length an officer of the King's Guard, indignant at the want of respect shown to the sister of the Sovereign, abandoned his quarters to her; but, after lingering at Nantes in vain, Jeanne was forced to take her solitary way back to the neighbourhood of her husband's prison. But she was not to be deterred from her generous purpose by her numerous failures, and resolved to waive her dignity as a Princess, and condescend to seek all methods that gave a hope of success. The Count de Miolans was at that time a favourite all-powerful with the young King, and to him she applied, entreating an interview, which he could not refuse to grant. When she saw him she used tears and persuasions to induce him to promise her his influence with the King, since she was not allowed to plead her husband's cause herself. She had not applied to one unwilling or unable to assist her, for de Miolans was not on good terms with the Regent, and knew his master's secret desire that Louis of Orleans should be set at liberty. "Alas, my foolish Jeanne!" said Charles, when she afterwards obtained an audience of her brother, and he raised her from her knees, where she had thrown herself weeping. "You ask for that which is against your own interest. God grant that you may never repent having gained your petition." With her hatred and inveteracy still so strong, Dunois had a difficult task to lead the Regent to listen to the

* Vie de Jeanne de Valois.

proposal he had to make. He began by frankly telling her that it surprised him that a Princess so full of genius and judgment as herself should allow it to be said that, during her administration, a chance had offered of annexing to the Crown of France so rich a province as Brittany. That she was allowing it to slip through her fingers by agreeing either to the marriage of Anne to Maximilian or to that of Charles to the Princess of Brabant. That there was no comparison in the value of the alliance which the King might himself make with the Duchess, without further endangering his claims, or exposing himself to annoyance from Maximilian. When he had begun to awaken her attention, he represented that nothing could be easier than for Charles to send the Princess Marguerite back to her father, and pursue his advantage in Brittany, despite the slight obstacle of the marriage by proxy, which could be instantly annulled, and the impotent anger of Maximilian, whose hands were tied by poverty, which his father would not relieve, was not worth fearing, as he would be obliged to submit.

The Duchess was startled at this view of things, and leant an ear to all the persuasive eloquence of Dunois, till she became convinced of the truth of his reasoning. It was then that he proposed one only condition under which he would undertake the whole negotiation, and bring over the Bretons and their Duchess to his views. This condition was still more startling to Anne de Bourbon, and, at first, she refused haughtily to listen to it for a moment.

Dunois required that the Duke of Orleans should be

immediately set at liberty. He represented in strong terms the necessity of this step on every account. In the first instance, he would neither move himself nor allow others to do so, if the proposal were not instantly agreed to. In the next, the affair, he said, could be brought about by no one else, in consequence of the great influence which the Duke of Orleans possessed both in France and Brittany, that it would put an end to all the plots which the party of Orleans were continually forming and which would become more dangerous as long as the Duke remained a prisoner so cruelly treated; and more than all, his consent gained to renounce the heiress himself, no one would stand in the King's way, as d'Albret could be provided for as well as Maximilian, and the de Rohans only waited on his pleasure.

Finding that Dunois was entirely unmoved by her anger, pride, and obstinacy on this point, the Regent at length began to give way; perhaps the last clause of the forced abandonment by Louis of his long-cherished affection and ambition had most weight on her jealous mind, but she objected that the Duke would never be induced to give up his hopes of the alliance and, if set at liberty, would form plans of vengeance against her for the part she had taken in his imprisonment.

To this Dunois replied that he undertook to persuade his cousin of the fallacy of his hopes and would make his renunciation of them and his urging the suit of the King a condition of his release—and he added that the exalted mind of the Duke was so well known to him that he could answer with his life for his forgiveness of all injuries: that his nature was so noble, generous, and

forgiving, that he carried those virtues to excess, and his sense of honour so pure that, once having given his word, even against his own interest, nothing would shake his firmness.*

The Duchess of Bourbon was finally overcome by all these arguments and entered into the views of Dunois without reserve. But in the meantime he had not been idle with the King himself on whom the late interview with Jeanne had made a powerful impression. Already he had resolved to make a violent effort with the Regent to obtain the release of Orleans, and when he heard from Dunois all that that release was to accomplish, he was roused into a fever of anxiety that it should not be delayed. He charged Dunois to see his cousin instantly and to ascertain from him his determination, begged him to urge him to agree by every argument he could devise, and declared that on his return successful he would himself go to Bourges and deliver the Duke with his own hand.

Dunois, overjoyed at the aspect affairs had taken, hastened to Bourges, where he was admitted to the prisoner, and long and earnestly he urged the question, finding, however, more difficulty in quieting his objections than those of the Regent. By remaining captive, he represented, the Duke was annihilating his party and his future hopes; until he was free nothing could be done for his advantage, and greater difficulties would arise every day. The Regent's power had reached its height and was declining; the King was attached to him, and would further his views and restore him to

* D'Argentré. Mezeray. Daniel.

all his privileges; a bright prospect was before him. His marriage with Anne of Brittany was now impossible; although Charles, with the great power he possessed, could quell the attempts of Maximilian, Louis, under the circumstances which had occurred, could not do so, if even he gained the Duchess of Brittany for his wife; besides, the divorce from Jeanne would be a long and tedious process, opposed on all sides; whereas, if he agreed to further the views of Charles, whose health was delicate, and whose life might not be long, he would inherit the crown, and all might be his own hereafter.

Louis combated all these arguments for a long time, persisting in still entertaining hopes, and urging the severity of the trial; but Dunois, pointing to his prison walls and his cage of iron,* convinced him, at

* Comines describes these cages thus: "Il est vraie que le Roy nôtre maître avoit fait de rigoureuses prisons, comme cages de fer, et autres de bois, convertes de plaques à fer par le dehors, et par le dedans, avec terribles ferrures, de quelques huict pieds de larges et de le hauteur d'un homme et un pied de plus. Le premier qui les divisa, fut l'Evesque de Verdun (Guillaume de Haraucourt), qui en la première qui fut faite, fut mis incontinent et a couché quatorze ans. Plusieurs depuis l'ont maudit, et moy aussi, qui en ay tasté sous le Roy de present, l'espace de huit mois."

He goes on to describe frightful irons to confine the feet, called Les Fillettes du Roy, and enumerates those of high estate who were placed in them; "qui depuis ensont saillis à grand honneur et à grand joie," but he does not name the Duke of Orleans as a prisoner at all.

In a list of expenses of Louis XI., preserved in the valuable work of M. Cimber, are several items of payment for instruments of torture, amongst them the following:—

"A maistre Laurens Volme, canonnier du dit Seigneur, pour un fer à bouter les deux bras et les jambes, et a bouter au col et parmi le corps pour un prisonnier. 16 livres.

"Pour avoir fait faire au Plessis du Parc trois forges à faire un caige de fer que le dit Seigneur avait ordonné faire faire.

length, that it was weakness to refuse his own salvation and that of the two countries, and selfish to hesitate a moment.

The interview ended in Dunois' triumph, who hurried back to the King, taking care to inform him first of the success of his mission, as he did not altogether place reliance on the promises of the subtle Duchess of Bourbon who, he knew too well, had always counterplots of her own to meet every emergency.

"Pour un treillis de fer pour mettre en la prison du Plessis au Parc. A Guion de Broc pour un caige de fer (1468) au Château Douzain pour le seureté et garde de la personne du Cardinal d'Angiers."—*Comptes de Louis XI.*

CHAPTER XIII.

EARLY LIFE OF CHARLES—HIS DISPOSITION AND PERSON—LE PETIT ROY—THE KING'S HUNTING—THE PROMISE OF ORLEANS—THE LADIES' PLOT IN FAVOUR OF FRANCE—FOR AND AGAINST—DISCOMFITURE.

CHARLES VIII. was now eighteen, and he felt that he was no longer a child, capable only of obeying the instructions of his imperious sister, and following humbly as she led. He had been, in early youth, deprived by his father's jealous terrors of all instruction, and was neglected so much, both in health and person, that both had suffered. His unfortunate mother, the mere victim of Louis XI.'s tyrannical will, had possessed but little power to ameliorate the condition in which he was placed, but her amiable qualities and her kindness of heart he had inherited, in spite of his father, and the very little he knew he had gleaned from the rare and interrupted visits she was allowed to pay him, for she herself was fond of learning, and possessed considerable knowledge, considering her time. Brought up a prisoner, sometimes in the tower of Plessis les Tours, where his traditional chamber in the clouds is still shown to the traveller, and at others in a corner of the Castle of Amboise, he scarcely saw a human being, except at a

distance, and the only lore his father wished him to understand was that which he said was alone useful to a Prince—"to dissemble well." It must be allowed that this early-studied maxim was always well followed by him, and he made the most of the only bit of Latin he was permitted to learn.*

So conscious was Charles of his deficiency, and so much did he regret his time lost, that, in spite of his natural fondness for the youthful amusements in which he indulged, the more from having been so long debarred from them; no sooner did he come to the Crown than he took masters, and endeavoured to improve himself as much as possible by study, saying that "the sword and lance were offensive arms, the cuirass and shield defensive, but that letters were both united."

* Brantôme. Qui nescit dissimulare nescit regnare.

Louis XI. was accustomed to say that he hated letters, although he was well instructed, and that science made him melancholy, "que c'étoit chose inutile, parce que les sages n'en avoient que faire, et que les foux, en affoloient davantage.

A saying of Charles VIII. is recorded which shows the caution which he considered necessary in a ruler. "Si je croyois que ma chemise sçut mon secret je la brûlerois sur-le-champ."

There is much contradiction as regards the conduct of Louis XI. respecting the education of his son Charles. Some historians insist that he allowed him to remain in complete ignorance, others that he surrounded him with learning. Gabriel Naudé, in his "Addition à l'Histoire de Roy Louis XI.," discusses the question of the erudition of Louis himself concluding that he really was accomplished in many branches of learning, adding: "Reste maintenant à scavoir si ce Roy ayant eu assez de capacité pour escrire et composer des livres, a eu aussi assez de patience et de *cacozelie* pour s'y amuser; d'autant que je vois plusieurs, et entre autres Despence en son Traité, que les lettres sont nécessaires aux Princes, La Croix du Maine, en son Bibliotheque, et MM. Savaron et d'Espagnet en leur Preface—estre d'opinion qu'il a fait un livre intitulé 'Le Rosier des Guerres,' pour servir d'instruction à Monseigneur le Dauphin Charles son fils. Ce qui etant vrai ne pourrait tourner qu' à sa louange."

His disposition must have been amiable, for every historian is agreed in that particular; de Comines speaks of him as having the sweetest and most gentle voice and manners imaginable, and calls him the most amiable person that ever lived. He was so delicate as an infant, that his life was despaired of, and Louis XI., who had lost a Dauphin before, in despair for whose death he cut down half a forest,* had no expectation of his surviving, having listened to the sages who pronounced on his fate. The exact description of his person having been sent to a famous philosopher, named Barthelemy Cocles, he pronounced that, according to the rules of science, he could not live long, owing to his complexion, which subjected him to frequent "catarres." This prophecy seems to have regulated the expectations of every one around him; and the strength, courage, and endurance he afterwards displayed, astonished all who beheld his small and weak body.

He is described as having a large head, with an aquiline nose, much too large for the proportions of his face; although this defect does not appear on his coins; his eyes were prominent and large, his chin round, with a dimple, which may have given a pleasing expression to that part of the face, but his lips were thin and flat. His body appears to have been compressed and somewhat deformed, and his legs too long and thin. Nevertheless, with all these failures of Nature, there was a charm in his address, and a benevolent kindness in his manner,

* "La plus humaine et donce parole d'homme que jamais fut, estoit la sienne; car je crois que jamais à homme ne dit chose qui luy dent deplaire. Petit homme de corps et peu entendu, mais si bon, qu'il n'est point possible de voir meilleure creature.—*De Comines.*

that reconciled every one witht he appearance of "Le Petit Roy," as he was familiarly called, and as his successor spoke of him.*

His courage was very great, and his passion warlike sports, and war for its own sake: he had much promptitude in action, but never committed an act of violence, and his chief pleasure appears to have been to grant requests and bestow pardon.

His temper being so yielding, it followed, of course, that he was open to the weakness which many greater Kings have fallen into: he was always surrounded with favourites, and sometimes allowed himself to be governed by them, for, though willing at all times to do justice, and to listen to the complaints of his subjects, he was not fond of business, and was exceedingly addicted to amusement.

On the whole, however, in all respects,† but as regards

* Francis I., whenever he spoke of Charles, did so as one of the bravest and greatest kings of France, calling him Le Petit Roy. In noticing the Italians' calumny—"Son effigie douce et benigne qui est à St. Denis en bronze doré devant le grand autel ne le nous figure pas tel ains," says Brantôme, "que j'ai ouy raconter à feu ma grand-mère Madame la Seneschalle de Poitou, de la maison de Lude, que j'allegue souvent en ce livre, et qui avoit été nourrie fille de Madame de Bourbon sœur du dit Roy et sa regente et mesme avec luy, qu'il avoit le visage beau, doux et agreable." Brantôme goes on to say that he closely resembled a certain handsome man of their acquaintance, whom his grandmother always called La Veronique du Petit Roy Charles. "Never," he adds, "was seen in France a Prince so mild and benignant, nor so liberal: no one ever left his presence unsatisfied, therefore was he greatly loved and loyally served by those belonging to him."

† One historian calls him "Un gentil Prince, liberal, doux, gracieux et acointable." This devise was given to him by the foreigners who admired him—

Major in exiguo regnabat corpore virtus.

personal appearance, Le Petit Roy was a lover worthy of the fair young Duchess, to secure whose hand the deep-laid plot of Dunois was framed, and which was now advancing to a conclusion.

The morning after he had had a confidential interview with Dunois, Charles rose betimes, and summoned his two chief favourites and confidants—the Count de Miolans, his Chamberlain, and the Sieur René de Cossé, his Grand Pannetier, and prepared to set forth to pursue, apparently, his customary pastime of the chase. He had removed from Nantes to Plessis les Tours, and the Duchess de Bourbon, who had not yet been able to persuade herself to name to him the subject of the Duke of Orleans' release, saw him depart without a suspicion of his intent.

No sooner had he cleared the park, and found himself in the open country, than he set spurs to his horse, and he and his delighted followers rode rapidly on till they reached Mont Richard, which was their first halting place. Next morning they advanced to the Pont de Barangon, from whence the King despatched the Seigneur d'Aubigni to Bourges, with his order to the commander of the Grosse Tour to deliver his prisoner, the Duke of Orleans, into his hands.

Already prepared by the frequent visits of the Count

The Italians called him in derision Cabezzucco, alluding both to his large head and his obstinacy in invading Italy.—*Preface to Comines.*

He appeared not to want wit or observation, as some sayings recorded of him show: among his "Paroles Memorables," he is made to compare fortune to an inconstant lover, who, while he is dancing with one young girl has his eye on another, for whom he leaves the first, as one does in the dance "de la torche ou on prend et on laisse.—*Mem. d'une personne d'esprit.*

de Dunois, the Governor was ready instantly to obey, and Louis, scarcely able to credit his good fortune, was summoned to accompany the party sent to carry him before the King. Their meeting was most affecting: they at once rushed into each other's arms, embracing over and over again, weeping and rejoicing by turns. Louis throwing himself at his cousin's feet and imploring his pardon for his rebellion, and Charles raising him with those kind, sweet words for which he was so celebrated, and by which he made himself so much loved.* Charles recounted to him all the difficulties he had experienced in endeavouring to obtain the consent of the Regent that he should be set at liberty, and entreated him not to stand in the way of his suit to the Duchess of Brittany. This confidence of his Royal cousin at once confirmed the Duke in his generous resolution, and he gave his most solemn word that no interests of his own should interfere with those of the King, but that from henceforth his sole object should be to secure the success of a project, the great importance of which he allowed. He offered to perform whatever duty was dictated to him, and to devote himself to the cause without delay.

* A MS. history of the time, published by M. Cimber, says that Charles made the Duke sleep in his bed with him, to show him the more friendship—"et luy bailla lict de camp et autres utensiles car il n'en avail poinct: et à la verité il ne sçavait quelle chere luy faire."

The prisoner, when at Lusignan, had with him none of his servants—"sinon son medecin Maistre Salomon de Bombelles." His wife, the Princess Jeanne, at the time of the divorce, speaks of having passed some days with him at Lusignan, and in his other prisons, probably she contrived to render his condition less miserable by her care, although Louis does not appear to have appreciated her goodness.

Prompt measures had now indeed become necessary, for the King of the Romans had, at length, resolved to send Ambassadors, who had indeed arrived at her Court, to claim his bride, supported by the aid of both England and Spain; the former Monarch having written with the greatest affection to her whom he called "la très haute et très excellente Princesse nôtre trèschère et très aimée cousine, la Reine des Romans Duchesse de Bretagne," signing himself her "bon cousin et *père*, Henry."

Whatever difficulties Dunois had experienced in his negotiation they were as nothing to those which were now before him; he had anticipated opposition from the young Duchess, but he did not contemplate that with which the first hint of the proposed change in her prospects was received. As soon as the release of the Duke of Orleans was happily accomplished, he and de Rieux considered that no further time should be lost, and as d'Argentré remarks, "on mit hommes de tous cotez en besogne pour induire la Duchesse." His first step was to gain over all her ladies, with Madame de Laval in chief, who was the first that ventured to insinuate the advantages that would ensue from the choice of the Duchess falling on a more powerful protector than the King of the Romans. The deplorable state of the country was continually discussed before her, the weakness of her German, and the lukewarmness of her English, allies; the dangers of war and the inestimable blessings of peace. Not an instant was the poor young Princess allowed rest, and all that could be imagined was said to disgust her with the alliance into which she

had been persuaded to enter. Madame de Laval and the rest were not ashamed to—

> "Dispraise her lord with that same tongue
> That they had praised him with beyond compare
> So many thousand times!"

but Anne remained firm. Her troth had been given to Maximilian, and renewed in the most solemn manner; she had never seen and could have no affection for him, but she considered her honour engaged, and had resolved to keep her promise, the fear of the hated d'Albret, no doubt, always in some degree influencing her. All that her persevering ladies said, therefore, had no effect upon her mind, and she silenced all but her governess, who had still considerable control over her.

It was necessary to conceal with the utmost care from the Ambassadors of Maximilian, that any idea existed in the Breton Court of deceiving their master, and though they might perceive some coldness towards them, and might have heard that the marriage was disliked by the Bretons in general, who were secretly being gained over to the purpose of Dunois, by representations of the weakness and poverty of the proposed bridegroom, and the danger of the treachery of England, still the evident truth and frankness of the person most interested entirely threw them off their guard; particularly as new treaties had been made with France, advantageous to their master and the Duchess, and no sort of obstacle was thrown in their way.

But already Dunois, de Rieux, de Montauban, and the Prince of Orange, had solicited of the Duchess a

private audience, when they ventured to lay before her formally the positive necessity of her considering the advantage of accepting the offer which they had reason to think the King of France wished to make. No sooner had Anne heard them to an end than she burst into a passion of invective against the most cruel foe she had ever had, who, for three years, had persecuted her in the most unworthy and unfeeling manner.

"King Charles," she said, "is an unjust Prince, who wishes to despoil me of the inheritance of my fathers: has he not desolated my duchy, pillaged my subjects, destroyed my towns? Has he not entered into the most deceitful alliances with my allies, the Kings of Spain and England, endeavouring to overreach and ruin me? and have I not, by the advice of all of you who now counsel the contrary, just contracted anew a solemn alliance with the King of the Romans, approved by you and all my people? Do not believe that I will so falsify my word, nor that I will burthen my conscience with an act which I feel to be so reprehensible."

Her Council, on this, in spite of the firmness with which she had replied, proceeded to set before her, in the worst colours, the state of Brittany; the impossibility of its defending itself, the certainty of its falling a prey to the first ambitious neighbour who attacked it, since their Duchess would be in another and a distant country, married to a man whose own subjects were continually in a state of rebellion, and who vainly, year after year, expected succour from his father, the Emperor; in fact, all the arguments which they formerly used to induce her to consent to the match were now turned on the

other side and presented, in the most unfavourable light, to persuade her to think differently. In regard to her contract of marriage they treated that lightly as a thing of frequent occurrence with Princes, being a mere ceremony which a dispensation could easily do away with, both as regarded the engagement of Charles and herself; and they added that she was at liberty to consult on this subject pious and enlightened persons, who would confirm what they advanced, her conscience remaining perfectly clear.

But Anne resolutely and haughtily refused to listen to these arguments, "elle avait," says d'Argentré, "le cœur infiniment haut et indomptable," and her discomfited Council heard with astonishment and vexation her eloquent and resolute words which, from one so young, impressed them the more.

"Rather," she added in conclusion, "than be found wanting in the honour and duty I owe to the King of the Romans, whom I look upon as my husband, I will set forth to join him since he finds it impossible to come hither to fetch me."

She then dismissed the nobles, who retired, very ill satisfied with their interview, and who were forced to reconsider the measures necessary to the success on which they had resolved.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE REGENT'S POLICY—THE REGENT'S ADVICE—THE FRENCH ARMY BEFORE RENNES—THE SAFE CONDUCT—THE AMBASSADOR EXTRAORDINARY—THE SURPRISE—THE MYSTERY OF THE MARRIAGE—THE CLAUSE—THE DECLARATION.

WHEN the Regent learnt the step her pupil Charles had ventured to take, without her knowledge or privacy, she was at first extremely enraged, and her anger and mortification were, with the greatest difficulty, repressed. She had never been sincere in her promises to Dunois, but trusted to bring about the annexation of Brittany without giving her dreaded enemy his liberty. She now saw with alarm that her power over her brother was drawing to a close, for she was convinced that the Duke of Orleans, once in favour and in a position to give advice, would henceforth influence the King. With her usual rapidity of perception, she immediately became aware of the necessity of giving way to events, and, after the first burst of vexation was passed, she resolved to put on a face of satisfaction and friendliness towards her released foe, and to associate herself with him in the project which she was anxious should not be accomplished without her aid.

She hastened, therefore, to her brother, congratulating

him on the happy delivery of the Duke, and feigning to thank him for his clemency, without a word of reproach for his neglect of her counsel on the subject; and on meeting Louis of Orleans she affected to be overcome with joy, vehemently protesting that her dearest wishes were now accomplished, and that her sole desire was to promote his future happiness. She entered instantly into the affair of the Breton marriage, and joined with Dunois in advising the King immediately to invade Brittany with a large army, and so secure possession before the King of England could have time to send new succour to his ally, which he would certainly do if he suspected that Maximilian was to be supplanted.

The Regent, in fact, was greedily anxious to obtain possession for herself of the province of Nantes, the grant of which she resolved to gain, and whether the marriage could be accomplished or not, she was of opinion that the country ought to be taken into the possession of the French.

The Duke of Orleans, who received her friendly demonstrations with all the distrust which was natural, was content to appear obliged, and to be silent respecting the past, but he heard with disgust her recommendations of violence, although it was evident both to him and to the rest that without the appearance of it, the Duchess Anne would never be induced to give her consent to the French alliance.

Great was the consternation of the persecuted young Duchess when she was informed by her apparently affrighted ladies that the banners of France could be

seen advancing towards the town of Rennes, where she still remained, and when she ascertained that the King himself, at the head of an immense army, was encamped within a short distance of her Castle. Harassed and terrified, she began at length to tremble for her personal safety, and gave way to indignant exclamations against the cruelty of her relentless enemy.

Charles, however, made no demonstration of hostility; it was enough that his overwhelming army had awed the Bretons, and that the Duchess could see that he had sufficient power in his hands to succeed in whatever design he might have formed.

A deputation was directly sent to the Duchess, proposing a treaty; and Anne, who was obliged to consent, agreed to the dictation of the King, that twelve persons should be appointed on either side, whose business should be to examine the claims each had on the duchy of Brittany. That, until the question should be decided, the city of Rennes should be placed in sequestration, in the hands of the Dukes of Orleans and Bourbon, to be governed for the time by the Prince of Orange. The King, on this being agreed to, promised that, as soon as all the strangers in Rennes should have removed two days' journey from the town, he would withdraw his troops, and allow passage and safe conduct to the Duchess, for her departure to Germany. Charles further agreed that, until the difference between them was adjusted, he would pay to the Duchess twenty thousand livres a year, and sixty thousand francs* besides, for her journey. That he would deliver to the

* Lobineau. D'Argentré.

Duchess copies of the title-deeds of all the towns of which he was master, she doing the same to the King, and that the originals should be carried to the Assembly of the twenty-four Arbitrators, to have the copies authenticated. These were the principal articles of the treaty of Rennes.*

The Ambassadors of Maximilian, meantime, had applied to the King for the safe-conduct of the Duchess, whether she chose to travel by land or by sea. If she decided on embarking at St. Malo, the King was to remove his army twenty leagues from the road from Rennes to that port; or, if she went by land, she was to be permitted to go unmolested through France. They required that hostages for her safety should be given, to remain in the hands of the King of the Romans, or the Archduke, his son (who was still an infant), until the arrival of the Duchess in Germany.

No objections were offered to these conditions, and, to show his sincerity, the King ordered his troops to retire from every part of Brittany, except the towns which were his own, and, in order to leave the Duchess perfectly at liberty, he returned himself to Touraine. The Duke of Orleans was despatched, as Ambassador Extraordinary, to the Duchess, to confirm all these arrangements and to compliment her; and all wore an aspect of perfect accommodation.

The Ambassador was in due course introduced to the Duchess, who received him with great dignity and with a haughty demeanour, which might have overawed one less accustomed to trust to his eloquence and persuasion

* Lobineau. D'Argentré.

than Louis of Orleans. She treated him with the same coolness as she would have done any other messenger of the King: she assumed to have forgotten all that had formerly passed between them, and merely spoke as to one who was a relative, but not as a former pretender to her hand. What her feelings might have been when the only man she had preferred amongst her numerous adorers revealed to her the purport of his mission, which was nothing less than to entreat for another the gift of the hand he had so struggled to obtain, he was not allowed to judge, for she exhibited neither resentment nor surprise, but heard him with a lofty and indifferent air, and, without returning him any answer from herself, referred him to her Council, who, she informed him, "were acquainted with her pleasure."

The reply of her Council was forthwith given, and the Duke of Orleans returned with the utmost haste to the expectant Charles, who, though supposed to be in Touraine, was in much nearer vicinity to the object of his pursuit, for some historians relate that he had never quitted the fauxbourgs of Rennes, and was there incognito anxiously waiting the return of his zealous Ambassador. D'Argentré asserts that the King, after having consulted with the Duke of Orleans, was introduced secretly into the town of Rennes, without guards, knowing well what friends he had there, and that an interview took place in the Castle between him and the Duchess Anne.

What eloquence he used, and how well he pleaded his cause, with that sweet voice and those soft looks which could so persuade others, the secrecy of the affair prevents the most romantic historian from recording, and

even Varillas, who delights in dramatic scenes, has left this unattempted.

Europe, says an historian,* was startled when, fifteen days after the withdrawal of the French troops, the Duchess of Brittany was missed from her dominions, and it was known that, accompanied by her Chancellor, Montauban, she had taken her way to France, and was actually in the Castle of Langeais, on the banks of the Loire, about five leagues from Tours, where the ceremony of her marriage with King Charles of France had just taken place. For five hundred years France had been endeavouring to obtain possession of Brittany, and now that great end was accomplished.† There will always remain a mystery about this unexpected marriage, one which existed even at the time it took place, and which cannot fail to become less easy to solve now that nearly four centuries have passed since the event, and the Castle on the Loire, which first saw the arrival of the bride, is crumbled into ruin.

The marriage is mentioned by different chroniclers‡

* Hist. des Ducs de Bretagne.

† D'Argentré.

‡ See Le President Hainault; Dom Lobineau; Observations sur P. de Comines; Dufourni; du Tillet; Dupleix; d'Argentré; Belleforêt. All these authors differ as to the exact date. D'Argentré says it occurred, "au Château de Langeais, diocèse de Tours, en la cour du Roi, Dec. 16 1491."

"Scachent tous present et advenir. Que comme par cy-avant eussent esté et par grandes et meures déliberations et precedens traitez Paroles de mariage entre Très Chretien et super illustrissime, Prince Charles, Roy de France, à present Regnant d'une part: et très illustre Duchesse, Madame Anne, fille et heritière seule et unique de feu de bonne memoire, Prince François, Duc de Bretagne, second de ce nom dernier decédé d'autre part: Eu le Conseil de plusieurs très illustres Princes et Seigneurs du Sang-

as having taken place in December, 1491, some say on the 6th, others on the 13th, and others on the 16th.* It has been asserted that a dispensation had been obtained from the Pope previous to the treaty of Rennes, because Anne was cousin, in the fourth degree, to the King, and that the contract of marriage was drawn up at the time Charles obtained an interview at Rennes,† as all her Council, of course, were aware of his visit, being in his interests.

It is, however, unlikely that an application should have been made to the Pope before the bride was fairly gained, as the secret so carefully kept from Maximilian might thus have been betrayed, and all have miscarried.

Royal et autres et aussi de plusieurs gens du conseil et zelateurs du bien, honneur et profit tant commun que particulier desdites parties et païs. Aujourdhui datte de ces presentes lesdites parties par l'advis et meure déliberation et pour les causes que dessus, au lieu de Langeais du diocèse de Tours, en la Cour du Roy nôtre Sr. au Chastel dudit lieu de Langeais personnellement establis; et aussi, très haut et très puissant Sr. M. Jean de Chaalon, Prince de Orange, soy voulant et consentant et mesmement le dit Sr. de sa grace, et bien ordonné volunté soubmettant et ont soubmet eux leurs hoirs, &c., &c.

C. à S.—Que les dits Seigneur et Dame de leur *pleine pure franche et liberale* volunté à l'honneur de Dieu nôtre Createur, et de toute la *Cour Ecclesiastique de Paradis*, à l'exaltation de la foy Catholique et des Saints Sacremens, à l'honneur et bien des dites parties et de leur païs ont consenti et promis prendre l'un et l'autre par nom et loy de St. Sacrament de Mariage, institué et autorisé en ce monde dès son exorde par Dieu nôtre Createur en Paradis terrestre entre nos premier parens, dans l'estat de l'innocence, &c. . . .

Que la dite dame ne convolera à autres nopces, fors avec le Roy futur s'il luy plait et faire se peut, ou à autre prochain et presomtif futur successeur de la Couronne, &c."

* A medal was instantly struck with the name and head of Charles on one side, and on the reverse Anne's name and arms, mi-parti with France, as Queen. This medal still exists in the Cabinet of M. le President de St. Vallier.

† Père Daniel.

Certain it is that a new dispensation was granted, dated 15th Dec., and it is somewhat remarkable that the document professes to free both Charles and Anne from a sentence of excommunication which both it seems lay under, either in consequence of the previous contracts each had entered into, or of some other unexplained reason.* A penance was also imposed, commanding them to employ one thousand gold crowns as dowers for a certain number of poor girls.

This dispensation has something startling in one of its clauses, for it is granted, as is expressly stated, "only in case that the Duchess Anne *had not been forcibly carried off*," and seems to give colour to an opinion current at the time and since, that the journey from Rennes to Langeais was not made exactly in the manner generally announced to the world.

It might be that the introduced Royal lover was not altogether unaccompanied by guards, and it might be that he did not quit the Castle of Rennes alone. Or it is not impossible that the betrothed bride of Maximilian might have supposed herself conducted on her way to join her husband, when the halt at Langeais took place. Up to the last instant, so resolute had been her refusal to listen to the suit urged for Charles, that her Ministers did not hesitate to call her firmness *obstinacy*, and to reproach her for being willing to sacrifice her country's interests to her own will.

* As regards Anne, the resistance she made to the Pope in the nomination of bishops might have incurred this ban. To excommunicate a Sovereign and his country was common at the time, and did not appear of much consequence.

The fact is well authenticated, that the young Queen, after the birth of her first child, the Dauphin Charles Roland, found it necessary, in order to quiet certain rumours and suspicions, to declare, in presence of the grand vicar of the bishopric of Tours, that "she had come freely, and *without constraint,* to the King at Langeais, with the design of becoming his wife; that she was conducted by her Chancellor de Montauban, by the Grand-Master Coëtquen, and by the Sieur de Pontbrient, *without being accompanied by any Prince, Lord, or Captain, belonging to the French.*"*

* Si les dits mariages furent ainsi changéz selon l'ordonnance de l'Eglise ou non je m'en rapporte à ce qui en est; mais plusieurs Docteurs en Théologie m'ont dit que non et plusieurs m'ont dit que ouy; mais quelque chose qu'il en soit toutes ces Dames ont eu quelque malheurs en leurs enfans. *La nostre* à eu trois fils de rang et en quatre années. L'un a vescu près de trois ans, et puis mourut, et les deux autres aussi sont morts. Madame Marguerite d'Austriche à esté mariée au Prince de Castille fils seul du Roy et Reyne de Castille et de plusieurs autres Royaumes, lequel Prince mourut au premier an qu'il fut marié, qui fut 1497. La dite Dame desmeura grosse, laquelle accoucha d'un fils mort, tout incontinent après la mort de son mary, qui à mis en grand douleur les Roy et Reyne de Castille et tout leur Royaume.—*Comines.*

CHAPTER XV.

THE PERSON OF THE BRIDE—QUALITIES AND DEFECTS—PURITY OF HER COURT—DUNOIS' DEATH—CONDITIONS OF THE CONTRACT—THE BRETONS—FÊTES AT TOURS—THE ENTRY INTO PARIS—CEREMONIES—FESTIVALS—MAXIMILIAN'S VEXATION—MARGUERITE OF AUSTRIA.

THE Duchess Anne is described at this period, by all the historians who have written on the subject, as remarkably pleasing in person: her complexion was of dazzling fairness, with a rich colour in her cheeks: her forehead was high and broad (a fact which all the statues and busts of her prove), her expression modest but dignified, her face rather long, her nose well shaped, and her mouth in beautiful proportion. Her height was not above the middle size, but her carriage was majestic and noble, and, though a little lame, the defect was hardly perceived, from the care she took to conceal it, by her manner of moving, aided by the shoes she wore. Brantôme says: "I have heard old people who have seen her say that her features were very like those of the beautiful Mademoiselle de Châteauneuf, mistress of Henry III.,*

* Anne herself would not have felt flattered by the resemblance to a personage of such questionable character.

who was so much renowned at the Court for her loveliness."

St. Gelais de Montluc, who was present at her marriage with Charles VIII., describes her thus: "It did one good to look at her, for she was beautiful, young, and full of good graces, so that it was a pleasure to regard her."

The qualities of her mind and her manners answered entirely to those of her body. She is represented as remarkably eloquent, a natural gift which was early developed in her, for she is said to have always expressed herself with great dignity; she was rapid in perception, had much judgment, was sensible and judicious, and had a peculiarly agreeable address. Her heart was full of warmth and kindness towards those she loved: she was very generous and charitable, frank and truthful, and quite conscious of her duties as a Queen.

Her defects were great pride, which resisted control, and prevented her from forgiving with readiness. On one occasion, when injured by the Maréchal de Gié, she carried this feeling to vindictiveness; and this in spite of the magnificent example of her second husband, so peculiarly opposite in this respect. In common with most of the powerful, at her period, she felt the charms of vengeance—a weakness to which Louis XII. was an exception. She was strict in her religious duties, even to bigotry, and severe to others; resolute to obstinacy, persistent in her opinions, frequently to an extent which occasioned difficulties in the State. But her good qualities overpowered her faults, for the

latter seldom appeared while the former were in daily evidence.

One virtue she possessed that influenced her age and contributed to change the character of the Court, which, in the previous reigns had fallen into a dangerous laxity of morals, and this was extraordinary correctness of conduct and modesty of demeanour. Her natural purity of mind led her to shun the very appearance of levity in her own actions, and the sight of it in others shocked her so much that she allowed no lady to approach her whose character would not bear the strictest investigation. So renowned, in fact, did her Court become afterwards for the perfection of its morality and correctness of conduct, that to gain a bride from amongst the young ladies who composed the suite of the Queen was the object of ambition with all the nobles of the time, and to be permitted to place their daughters under her eye was the most anxious wish of all the mothers who desired to see them respected and admired.*

Thus charming and interesting, at the age of fourteen, Anne of Brittany, whether voluntarily or otherwise, was married to the amiable and generous Charles, who had just reached his eighteenth year, and, if her inclination had little to do with the match into which circumstances forced her, she soon found that she had no reason to regret what she probably, at first, considered a misfortune. The tenderness and goodness of heart of Charles, his extreme desire to make her forget all that was inharmonious in their union, and his efforts to

* Hilarion de la Coste: Eloge. Brantôme: Dames Illustres.

prove to her that her happiness should henceforth be his sole care, made it impossible for the young bride's tears to continue long to flow.*

The ceremony of the marriage took place in the chief saloon of the Castle of Langeais, in the presence of the Duke of Orleans, the Duke of Bourbon, the Counts of Angoulême, Foix, and Vendôme, of that of Guillaume de Rochefort, Chancellor of France, whose word had been so nobly spoken to preserve Brittany from violence, of Louis d'Amboise, Bishop of Albi, of Jean d'Eli, the King's Confessor, elected Bishop of Angers, of the Prince of Orange, the Chancellor of Brittany, and the Seigneurs de Guemené and de Coëtquen.

No mention is made of the presence of Dunois, which is remarkable, and scarcely was the great end accomplished for which he had striven so energetically than an accident closed his useful life. A few days only after the marriage he was thrown from his horse, and either expired on the spot or died immediately afterwards. Some writers say he was seized with apoplexy, others that he died of exhaustion, from not taking sufficient nourishment during a long journey. At all events, his friends lost, at that time, one of the most valuable and devoted of their supporters, and the King a wise, judicious, and disinterested counsellor.†

* Le Roy devenu son époux, comme malgré elle, n'oublia rien pour dissiper entièrement le chagrin que ce mariage lui avoit causé et il se comporta si bien à son égard, qu'elle fut dans la suite très-satisfaite de son sort, et eut pour ce Prince l'amour le plus vif et le plus tendre.—*Hist. des Ducs de Bretagne.*

† François d'Orleans, Count de Dunois and Longueville, was only son to

Very strict were the articles drawn up on occasion of this important union, which connected Brittany with France, and put an end to the civil wars. In the first place, the Duchess ceded, then and for ever, all her rights in the duchy of Brittany and the county of Nantes, to the King, under the name of a donation, even in case of her dying before him, without children. On the other hand, the King, for ever and irrevocably ceded any rights he might have on the duchy, in case he died before her, without leaving children by their marriage, but on this condition, which is a very remarkable one: "That, in such a case, the Queen shall enter into an engagement to marry no other person than the future King of France, provided that he wished it, and that such could be; but if there existed an obstacle, as, for instance, that the Prince *was already married*,* she should espouse no other than the presumptive heir to the Crown, who, in that case, would hold the duchy of Brittany from the Crown of France, like the Dukes his

the celebrated Jean, called Le Bâtard d'Orleans. D'Argentré says he died "en allant a cheval par pays, *pas faute de manger*, ainsi qu'on disoit."

In Godefroy's Preface to "Comines," occurs this passage: "Il négocia ce mariage pour le Roy, au retour duquel il fut *suffoqué d'un catherre*." "Il étoit adroit et subtil négociateur doué d'une vivacité merveilleuse et fort heureux à persuader tout ce qu'il vouloit et a nouer et denouer les intrigues."

* It is thought, by this clause, that the Duke of Orleans had the dictation of the articles, which is by no means unlikely, as, though he gave up his hopes for the sake of his cousin, he was not bound, in case of an accident restoring them to him, to renounce them for ever. It is singular that, after he had probably ceased to indulge in visions of the kind, his dearest wishes should, in the end, have been fulfilled, and this clause of the marriage contract fulfilled to the letter.

predecessors, being unable to alienate it except in restoring it to the hands of the King then reigning."

If children were born of the present marriage, and Anne should outlive the King, it was agreed that she should always have possession of the Duchy as a right which belonged to her. The Duchess was not called, in the contract, by any title but daughter and heir of the the Duke of Brittany. It was further decreed, that all the jewels and furniture of price belonging to the Duchess were *her own*, and to remain so after the King's death.

Another treaty was drawn up between the King and the Breton States, promising the confirmation of the privileges and customs of the country, and granting particular advantages to certain towns, as Rennes and St. Malo.

It appears that Anne had particularly entreated and insisted upon this, in the interest of her beloved Bretons, and that she witnessed with emotion the cession of their allegiance from herself, which both she and they had prized so much. She was with difficulty reconciled to this, and never, for a moment, lost sight of the interests of her countrymen; who, however, in general, were content to yield, rather than continue to see their province desolated. Some few murmured, but when they reflected that their Duchess's tears flowed for them, and that she was powerless to obtain more than the terms granted, they submitted with the best grace they could, and comforted themselves with the additional dignity bestowed on them in the person of their beloved Duchess Anne.

The King now took his bride to Tours, where at the Château de Plessis they passed two months, in fêtes and rejoicings which seem to have altogether dissipated the sadness of the Queen-Duchess, as she chose to be called, and when she next appeared amongst her new subjects all melancholy was effaced from her brow.*

At every town in France, from Tours to Paris, nothing was to be seen but preparations in honour of the passage of the young Royal bride and bridegroom, whose marriage was thought to have put an end to so many troubles. It was one triumph throughout the journey, for the people were all animated with the same desire

* The people of Tours, overjoyed at the arrival of the young Queen-Duchess, exerted themselves to the utmost to do her honour, they prepared for her a poële or dais, under which she was received by four of the principal citizens, who presented her with a fine specimen of ingenuity in the form of a silver-gilt galley, which she graciously accepted. All that could be found most precious in the city, of silks, damask, velvet, taffeta, and *gold-woven ribbons* was exhibited in the dresses of the actors in the mysteries displayed for her amusement. At every gate and in every square were mysteries represented, the usual subjects being brought into play besides others less common: Les Sybilles, Le Roi Saloman, La Reine de Sabba, Les *Neuf Preuses*, or great women, being a variety in her especial honour, as also Le Mystère de Madame Sainte Anne. That of Le Roi *Snaire*, La *Reine avec ses trois femmes*, Le Berger et la Bergese, and some, the titles of which have not been preserved, but all extremely edifying and splendid.—See *La Touraine Ancienne et Moderne.* Par Stanislaus Ballanger.

Charles VIII. showed much favour to the citizens of Tours, and granted, at St. Just lès Lyons, letters patent confirming to the town all the privileges granted by his father in favour *des maîtres, ouvriers, et compagnons besongnant l'art et métier de faire draps d'or et de soie.* He also favoured the introduction of the art of printing into the town, a privilege which it still shows itself worthy of in its beautiful press and paper, that of Mame and Co., being one of the best in France. Charles sold the iron gates that surrounded Plessis and made it a prison, and gave the proceeds to build a Convent of Minîmes which replaced the constructions called Les Bergeries of Louis XI.—*Idem.*

as their King, that of effacing from the mind of Anne of Brittany all but the gay and glorious parts of the transaction. So young and so amiable, it was to be expected that she would feel sensible of all the attentions she received, and would cease to regret that which Fortune seemed resolved to snatch from her.

In fact, the extraordinary honours shown her convinced her that she had friends in her new country, and that it was her duty henceforth to consider herself the protector of those who were so ready to accept her as their Queen.

At length, the great day arrived on which she was to be crowned at St. Denis, and seldom had anything been beheld more gorgeous than the preparations for the solemn ceremony. Anne is described as appearing, with no ornament on her head but her long and beautiful hair, wearing a robe of white satin.* She was conducted to a platform raised in the middle of the choir of the Church of St. Denis; the Duke of Orleans held her crown over her head, as, it appears, it was too large and heavy with jewels for her to wear; and, ranged on each side of her, were the Regent-Duchess of Bourbon and all the appointed ladies, each wearing a "chapeau de Duchesse ou de Comtesse,"† according to their dignity.

It was a curious group of personages gathered together in the beautiful and venerable Church of St. Denis, and strange must have been the feelings of the chief actors in the drama. The bride, forced to become the greatest Queen in Europe, *against her will;* the Duke of Orleans supporting the crown gained by him, *against*

* St. Gelais de Montluc. † Idem.

his will, for the fair head over which, with a firm hand, he now held it, he, late a prisoner in the Grosse Tour de Bourges, retained there by the haughty woman who now stood smiling by the side of her rival, *against her will* obliged to submit to the triumph of him whom she looked upon as her bitterest enemy, and of her whose influence would put an end to her power.

Was the unfortunate Jeanne amongst those who assisted at the ceremony? If so, strange also must her feelings have been to see her husband, free and restored to all his honours, sealing, by this last act, his renunciation of those hopes which had so much injured her, and looking, for the first time, on the lovely and majestic young creature who, preferred to her, was yet an innocent rival, her sister and her Sovereign.

The day after the coronation, Anne, who *required* to be called the Queen-Duchess, made her solemn entry into Paris, and for more than halfway from St. Denis to the Palace the crowd assembled to see her was so great that, but for the extraordinary precautions taken, it would have been impossible for the cortége to have passed along. The enthusiasm and the joy of the French knew no bounds, for never yet had a Queen of France, since Eleanor of Guyenne, brought so magnificent a dower to the country. Her extreme youth, her grace and beauty, made a great effect upon their minds, and nothing was heard but the praises of the bride and admiration of the bridegroom's choice.

Most of the ceremonies used on these occasions appear, at the present day, sufficiently tedious and monotonous; but one was customary at Rheims, on the solemn entry

of a new King, which presents some features of interest, from the circumstance of its being repeated in memory of Jeanne d'Arc.

At the principal gate of the town of Rheims, a theatre was erected, adorned with highly-decorated pillars, and surmounted by a large apple, which appeared to form the centre of a resplendent sun. When the Royal party entered the gates, the apple opened, and within it was disclosed a heart which, expanding also, gave egress to a young girl of nine years old, who, stepping forward, presented the keys of the town, addressing a compliment in verse to the Regal party. On receiving the keys again, the damsel re-entered her heart and apple, and, immediately on its closing, the sun shot forth rays in the form of fleurs de lis.

The "Pucelle" represented the city of Rheims, and is supposed to have allusion to the heroine of Charles VII., since whose time the custom was religiously observed at the entry of his successors. The "compliment" was as follows:—

> Moi, votre ancelle, qui Rheims vous représente,
> D'un cœur ouvert, plein de fidelité,
> Comme à mon Roi, en toute humilité,
> Les clefs des portes humblement vous présente.*

These fêtes of rejoicing on the entry of Royal visitors were found so expensive to the townspeople, that they, no doubt, sometimes endeavoured to avoid performing their parts in the ceremony. Several ordinances enjoin exertions to be made, and it was expected of the bodies of the different trades, such as butchers, drapers, mercers,

* Leber: *Cérémonies.*

goldsmiths, and furriers, that they should put themselves to certain charges in honour of the time.* In one place, the registrars order the *quarteniers* (police of the gates) to be in readiness to accompany the Governor and his officers to meet the Royal party (in 1501), together with a great number of citizens, *well-mounted and equipped.* Also that the mercers should contribute to the expense of the dais, or *ciel,* to be held over the Queen (Anne of Brittany), "*et de ce qu'il conviendra faire et frayer.*"

This dais was borne by four magistrates dressed in scarlet, and sometimes an order was issued for the citizens to dress their children in rich apparel, in order that they might appear in the ceremonies.†

Festivals and rejoicings occupied the general time for a prolonged period, and the Regent found that she could no longer inspire fear or awe, but that all to whom she had shown severity were released from prison,

* The presents generally took the form of symbolical figures in gold and silver; objects in sugar frequently figured, generally filled with something more precious—as, at the entry of Isabeau de Bavière into Paris, when the city presented *a stag in sugar,* with Actæon accompanying it, having round his neck the coat of arms of the Queen. It was indispensable that the citizens should perform their expected parts, "*de joyeux avènement à la couronne,*" with the best grace they could; but these splendid presents became a heavy burthen on the citizen, and Louis XII., the true father of his country, diminished them extremely, in which act he was not followed by his more expensive successors, till the kind-hearted Monarch, Louis XVI., issued an order abolishing them altogether.—Leber.

Louis XII. was called *miserly* by his subjects of Paris; the reward of Louis XVI. was somewhat more than contempt!

Les présents fait à la Reine Anne, à ses entrées (à Paris) en 1501 et 1504 représentaient une valeur, le premier de 6,000, et l'autre de 10,000 livres de ce temps.—Leber.

† Leber.

and forgiven former faults and conspiracies. Louis d'Orleans hailed, amongst others, the release of one of his most faithful followers, whose letters to him, intercepted, had caused him to be imprisoned in one of those horrible cages which he shuddered to think of. Philippe de Comines, the honest, upright, and excellent Minister and friend of two Kings, had been one of the victims of the revengeful Regent, and was only recently delivered from his torturing confinement. "I think," says the great historian, with generous naïveté, telling of the good qualities of Charles VIII., "that he was harder to me than to any man besides, but he was young, *and governed.*"

While these great events, for France, were going on, the news of the annihilation of all his projects reached the ears of the King of the Romans, who was in expectation of receiving his bride, according to the very amicable arrangements made by France, on purpose to deceive his Ambassadors. He was deeply mortified and enraged, and expressed himself very forcibly on the occasion, and "with but little dignity or discretion."* Not only had he been deceived into so great a loss as that of a rich bride, and an important addition to his territories, but he had received an affront in the person of his daughter, who was now to be sent back a rejected bride, after having been long looked upon as the future Queen of France. It certainly is not to be wondered at that Maximilian treasured up his grievances against France, and, counting their number,† left the settlement

* D'Argentré.

† He numbered *eighteen* injuries.—*Paroles Mem.*

of his accounts with such an enemy to his successors, in case he died before he had taken his revenge for all. Maximilian, however, had that light, careless, and capricious disposition, which dwells long on nothing. After his great loss in Mary of Burgundy, whom he married when quite young, and before his character was formed, he did not fulfil the hopes which were then formed of him; and, in the course of years, degenerated into so extravagant and imprudent a habit of life, that he became the jest of the Princes of his time. His great grief for the loss of his interesting wife, and the early check he received in his high expectations by her unexpected death, are thought to have had a fatal influence on his mind. He required to be guided by a judgment superior to his own; and had Mary lived, or had Anne become his wife, Maximilian "Poco Danari," as he was nick-named, might have been spoken of in history with more respect than he receives.*

The King of the Romans sent Ambassadors immediately to Spain and England, in hopes to induce both countries to take up his quarrel against France; but Ferdinand was too much occupied in settling the affairs of his own kingdom, complicated by the expulsion of the Moors of Granada, and was but little touched by his appeal. Henry VII., though, to keep up appearances, affected to make a demonstration in his favour,

* Maximilian contributed largely to the "Paroles Memorables," which chroniclers are fond of counting. Amongst others is the following, which is very characteristic of him. He said, "That if he was the Deity, and had several children, he would make the eldest God after him, but the second he would make King of France, knowing that he was the most fortunate, glorious, and powerful Prince in the world."—*Claude de Seyssel.*

ended by persuading him to be content to make peace with a too powerful rival.*

Maximilian, in fact, received compensation from France in the restoration of several counties which were to have been the dower of his daughter Marguerite, who was reconducted into his dominions of Flanders, with great honour, and four years after was married to Don Juan, of Spain. Marguerite, even at the early age at which this affront was put upon her, was very witty, and being one day at table, when her maître d'hotel remarked on the badness of the wines that year, owing to the extreme wetness of the season, she observed, "There is nothing surprising in it. What wonder that grapes should be green and unwholesome this year, since oaths have been of no value!"†

The after career of Marguerite was important to Europe, and very interesting as regards herself. Her adventure on her way to Spain, to be married to the Infant, is familiar to most persons. When, being overtaken by a frightful storm with little hope of escape, she is recorded to have written her own epitaph and attached the lines to her dress, in allusion to her being twice a bride and no wife; her usual humour appears even at such a moment—

* Rapin recounts that Perkin Warbeck, in the second year of Anne's marriage to Charles, was received by the King and Queen in Paris with great honour, as a Royal personage: the Dowager Duchess of Burgundy, being his patroness, had no doubt taken advantage of Anne's feeling towards Maximilian to interest her in his favour; and the young Duchess of Brittany had certainly but little reason to look upon Henry of Richmond as her friend, therefore she was the more ready to forward the views of the unfortunate pretender to his Crown.

† *Paroles Memorables.*

C'y gist Margot, la gente* demoiselle
Qui ha deux maris et s'y mourut pucelle.

Escaped the dangers of the seas, she was wrecked in happiness on shore; her husband, the infant, dying almost immediately. After this, she was married to the young and interesting Philibert, of Savoy, but at the age of twenty-four was left again a widow. Her conjugal tenderness has left its record in the splendid tomb she erected to this husband at Brou, near Bourg, one of the most beautiful of those tombs for which the age was so celebrated.

When she returned to her father, Maximilian, to whom she was always very dear, he named her Governess of the Low Countries, which she ruled over with singular ability and wisdom. Her counsels were always of great utility to her father, whose extraordinary letters show how much he consulted her and depended on her judgment. In 1507-8, she was present at the famous Congress of Cambray; some of the letters of her Ambassadors will be given hereafter, which were addressed to her there from Blois, and afterwards, in 1529, she, together with Louise of Savoy, concluded the treaty between Francis I. and Charles V., known as "La Paix aux Dames."

She died at Malines, in 1530, leaving an exalted reputation, and much lamented by her subjects. She was full of learning and accomplishments, as her poet, Le Maire de Belge, shows in his verses, and it is told of her, that when her physicians begged her not to study so hard, she replied: "That the body was always well, if the mind was attended to."

* Or "noble," the lines are given both ways.

CHAPTER XVI.

IMPORTANT CESSION—THE POPULAR PREACHER—TRIUMPH OF SUPERSTITION—THE REGENT AND THE QUEEN—THE HUSBAND AND WIFE—GOOD POLICY OF THE REGENT—FAVOURITES—SFORZA—AMBITION—THE ITALIAN CAMPAIGN AGREED ON.

THE restoration, by Charles, of Marguerite's dower, namely, the Counties of Artois and Charolois, was a necessity which the King could not in equity avoid, but the last act of the Regency of Anne de Bourbon did not show her usual judgment, and was a most incautious proceeding. Roussillon, Cerdagne, and Perpignan were restored to Ferdinand of Castile, who laid claim to those provinces, and the careless manner in which his demands were allowed created much future difficulty for France. Anne de Bourbon had been always bigoted, though she did not carry her devotion to the saints to the same extent as her father, and it was by working on her religious feelings through her favourite confessor that Ferdinand induced her to act with so much impolicy towards France and such advantage to him. The King of Spain asserted that the counties in question had been only bought by Louis XI. for a period, which, being expired, they by right returned to him; all the terrors of future punishment for treachery were set forth by the confessor of the Duchess and his colleague,

that of the young King Charles, to induce them to yield to the demand: the end was thus gained.*

Ferdinand of Spain had just adopted the surname of Catholic, bestowed on him by the Pope, in recompense for his crusade against the kingdom of Granada, and the success he had met with in gaining so valuable an addition to his dominions, encouraged him to apply to France for the restoration of the provinces which his father had engaged to the late King. Having failed, in the first instance, to convince the Ministers of Charles VIII. that it was but right to restore the provinces to the King of Spain, the Ambassadors were recalled, but not before they had established powerful friends at Court in the persons of the Confessors already mentioned.

Olivier Maillard was as popular as a preacher in France as Jerome Savonarola, in Italy, at the same period, and both exercised immense sway in their respective countries. Maillard, though considered by no means learned, possessed singular art in addressing his auditory, and appealing to their passions. He attacked everything, both in the Church and the State, which his subject led him to, was bitter against the habits, manners, vices, and prejudices of the time, used the

* It is said that Olivier Maillard[a] and Jean Maulcon, the confessors, were bribed by gold sent in bottles, which were supposed to contain liqueurs.[b]

[a] He is ridiculed by Rabelais as *frère Jean des Entonneurs*. See Comines, &c.

[b] Comines says the King knew that the confessor of Charles loved Spanish wine—"Il lui envoya deux barils, l'un plein de cette liqueur et l'autre rempli de réales de plate, qui tous deux lui parurent fort doux et fortifièrent sa parole en faveur du Roy Ferdinand."

most forcible language, and kept his hearers in continual excitement, amusing them by his boldness even more than they were instructed by his doctrine. The Court listened to his sermons with interest, if not with devotion, for they were sure to meet with entertainment, as he did not scruple to interlard his orations with stories and anecdotes, sometimes more lively than decorous, which kept their attention awake, and when he wound up his vituperative discourse by devoting the souls of the wicked, and sometimes of his congregation, "ad omnes diabolos ad triginta mille diabolos," he sent his Courtly admirers away in the best spirits possible, and furnished them with a theme of conversation, till his next extravagant sermon gave them another.

Jean Malerue, confessor of the Regent, was by her party considered a more respectable preacher, and was, in fact, a more learned man, though less attractive in his style. The Duchess had great respect for his opinions, and listened to his advice. These men were equally artful, and both, being well bribed, undertook to terrify the consciences of the Regent and the King into consenting to the restoration of the provinces claimed by Spain, on religious grounds.

They took occasion, in season and out of season, to represent the danger to the souls of both the late and the present King, in case a compact agreed to should not be fulfilled. That the Catholic King, having been impoverished by the holy war he had conducted against the Infidels, was the more worthy of support; therefore, not to agree to his just demand was to incur the judgment of Heaven. At first Charles, by advice of

his Council, was firm in his refusal; but the Duchess, whom her confessor had persuaded that Louis XI., on his death-bed, had commanded the restoration, so besieged him, for more than a year, that he at length consented, against the advice of wiser persons.

A change was now coming over the fortunes of the Regent, who, when she first saw the youthful Queen was not prepared to find in her other than a new pupil, whom she could mould to her will, and whose influence with her young and careless husband she could turn to her own advantage. But she was most disagreeably undeceived when she became acquainted with the character of the Princess. Anne had been from her earliest youth accustomed to be considered as the heiress to a great duchy: her father had caused her always to be treated with the utmost honour and respect: he was proud of her abilities and her beauty, and was anxious that her mind should be early formed in order to be able to meet the cares of State, which he seemed to have a presentiment would soon devolve upon her.

During the short time that she had worn the ducal diadem, scarcely an instant had been left her for the amusements and enjoyments of her age. She heard only of wars and struggles, of dangers and deceptions; she was called upon continually to sign papers, the purport of which revealed to her intelligent inquiries the treacherous policy to which she was exposed, and against which it was necessary to guard. She learnt, in the school of danger, to study character and to be cautious of confiding too readily: she had seen those in whom she most trusted turn from her side and plot against

her, and had found friends where she least expected it. Though still a child in years, she was therefore experienced, to a certain extent, in the ways of the world: she had been taught, too, to repress her feelings, to get the better of her inclinations, and to consider the welfare of her people rather than her own happiness.

In a very short time she understood the affairs of her new kingdom, and was aware of the imperious disposition of the Regent, to repress whose encroachments on her own dignity soon became her care.

Charles VIII., now that he was married, and acknowledged of age to govern, from having been too long kept back gave the reins to his inclinations in a degree which might have been expected,—an inevitable consequence of such treatment as he had experienced; but Anne, having been accustomed to power, merely took her additional honours as her right, and was capable of receiving what was her due, without falling into any extreme.

Anne de Bourbon had not yet lost her title of Regent, but it was known that, as the King now began to take the affairs of State under his own care, she could not remain in her late commanding position, which, however, circumstances, not then contemplated, allowed her to hold, in her husband's name, some time longer than was anticipated.

The young Queen, however, did not attempt to interfere with the policy of her sister-in-law when she saw it was judicious, and as, in the first instance, it led only to the advantage of herself and her beloved Brittany, Madame de Bourbon saw the necessity of obtaining from all those nobles who had claims on Brittany, a renuncia-

tion of their rights in favour of France. The Prince of Orange was the son of Catherine de Dreux, sister of Duke François I., and, in case of the Duchess Anne dying without children, might revive a claim which would otherwise sleep. She therefore drew from him a renunciation, in form. She managed as well with the eldest son of the Queen's late persecuting suitor, d'Albret, who had married Catherine de Foix, Queen of Navarre, his mother having been the heiress of Penthièvre, whose claims had been set aside in favour of François II.; this Prince consented to renounce his claims, on receiving a grant of lands, adjoining those he already possessed in Guyenne. The claims of the de Rohans she did not consider so likely to create difficulties, and therefore made no sacrifices to repress.*

All was now smooth and satisfactory as regarded the important province of Brittany, thus re-united to the parent country. The young Queen was appointed a guard of her own, composed of a hundred Breton gentlemen, without whom she seldom appeared in public, and to whom she delighted to show particular favour. It may be easily imagined that she possessed in them most devoted and attached adherents; but all France was equally ready to be her guard, and she had now as many protectors as before she had enemies in the kingdom.

Charles VIII., left free to choose his confidants and companions, acted like most young men whose feelings are warm and judgment weak. He surrounded himself with favourites of various grades, and allowed them

* They were altogether set aside by law in the next reign; Louis XII. having allowed a trial to take place to decide them.

to usurp the sway which his sister was gradually losing, and which his young wife was too dignified to dispute with them.

The two persons who had the greatest power, soon after his marriage, were Guillaume Briçonnet, his first Minister, Bishop of St. Malo, and Etienne de Vaese, at first introduced to him, like Pierre Landais to Duke François, in the humble character of his valet, but who, possessing talent and cunning, had been raised by degrees to the highest offices of State.

It would seem, from the long list given by historians, that almost all the Lords of the Court were in sufficient favour to rule the King. In that curious poem of the day, called "Le Vergier d'Honneur," the following are named:—

> Mignons du Roy, ainsi que Bourdillon,
> Balzac, Lachaulx, Gaillot, Chastillon,
> George Edouille, et autres familiers,
> Comme Paris, Gabriel et Dijon.*

His first Chamberlain, Miolans, had also great influence with him, as well as Le Grand Pannetier, Cossé. His intimate friend was the Comte de Ligny, his cousin, son of the unfortunate Comte de St. Pol. De Ligny was one of the handsomest men of his time, universally admired and beloved; and many of those who were called his favourites deserved to be so by their talent or worth; for instance, Gaillot and Chastillon both

* The two last were menials in his service. Hervé du Chemoi, Prévôt de l'Hotel, was another. Comines says, of Briçonnet and Vaese: "on dit qu'il n'y en eut jamais de plus incapables, ils conseillèrent la guerre de Naples, l'un que pour avoir un chapeau de cardinal et l'autre pour obtenir un Duché en ce pays là: ce qu'ils eurent l'un et l'autre; mais Vaese ne garda pas longtemps son Duché."

rendered themselves illustrious; and Bonneval, who was generally called "Enfant d'Honneur," though he might have gained the sobriquet in consequence of being a page of the King, appears to have merited the title; a rhyme of the time says—

Bourdillon et Bonneval
Gouvernent le Sang Royal.

Charles had always nine knights in his body-guard, who were called *Les Neuf Preux*, composed of the sons of the highest of his nobility, and, if he showed singular favour to his courtiers, certain it is that their attachment to him was equal to the distinctions he showered on them.

It is asserted that Briçonnet and Vaese,* (the latter created Seneschal de Beaucaire), were both gained by bribes judiciously administered, and promises of future advantage, by the Usurper Ludovico Sforza, to advise their master to cross the Alps and attempt the conquest of his rights in Milan; Sforza, imagining that his own ambitious projects would be served by this proceeding, and that he should have it in his power, when the proper time came, to induce the French to return from whence they came. Pope Alexander VI. entered into the views of Sforza, and, being once assured of their private friends at Court, a magnificent embassy was sent to Charles VIII., inviting him to invade Italy, and destroy the tyranny of the King of Naples, and offering to his imagination a future, the glory of which should throw that of Charlemagne into the shade.

* In the *Mem. d'une personne d'esprit* he is called Vaese; by others, *Vers.*

But though the favourites urged the King to listen to these dazzling representations there were yet wise and prudent counsellors about him, who opposed the insidious advice and refuted all the arguments of Sforza and the Pope. Amongst the chief of these wise men was Philippe de Crèvecœur, called the Pyrrhus of his time.* Briçonnet himself saw clearly that he had been led into error, and drew back, but Vaese, observing that Charles was struck with admiration at the thought of being able to take Constantinople from the Infidel, and perhaps push his conquests further, persisted in the first opinion in which his master had seen so much wisdom, so that Charles, by degrees, threw off his deference for his other Ministers, and confided entirely in him who sided with his weakness and deluded his inexperience.

The Regent saw with infinite vexation the danger she could not avert, though she spared no counsel on the subject; and the young Queen, although less able to understand the true bearings of the subject, yet lent an attentive ear to her urgent entreaties that she would dissuade her husband from a project which was certain to fail, and might bring ruin on the country if persisted in.

But Charles had formed a design which he had

* "Philippe Seigneur des Querdes (Cordes) de l'ancienne famille de Crèvecœur." His knowledge of war was great as were his severity and justice. He hung as many at twenty soldiers in one day for persisting in pillage. He died at Lyons, while Charles was preparing for the expedition from which he would not be dissuaded. His body was taken to Boulogne sur Mer, of which town he was a native, and there buried.—*Mem. d'une personne d'esprit.*

fostered in his mind until it had grown too powerful to be resisted, and entered into secret treaties which could not be done away with by his Ministers. All the young knights of his Court were as enthusiastic as himself, and were equally dazzled at the prospect of gaining immortal honour in an Italian campaign. At the head of these was Louis, Duke of Orleans, whose mind became excited with an ambitious hope of regaining all that his family had lost in the North of Italy, and, burning with the desire for fame, and impatient of inaction, he joined his persuasions to those of the rest, and Charles was at once declared fit to be their leader to the most distant conquests, and destined to acquire a name in arms beyond all that chivalry had yet known. The highest flight of romance could not exceed the imaginings of these ardent and ill-judging, but brave and devoted, youths, and the Italian campaign was resolved upon.

CHAPTER XVII.

DUKE RENÉ'S OPPORTUNITY—THE DREAM OF CONQUEST—LUDOVICO IL MORO—MANIA—WAR WITHOUT MEANS—THE FIRST DAUPHIN—THE "SAINT HOMME"—LYONS—GRENOBLE—LOUIS AND JEANNE—"LA FINE BRETONNE"—THE PROUD DUCHESS—A WOMAN'S OPINION OF WOMEN.

Louis of Orleans was now in his proper position at Court, and, as the power of Anne de Bourbon declined, his turn came to triumph. The favourite René de Lorraine, whom she had invited chiefly to cause him annoyance, and to whom the important cession of the Duché de Bar had been imprudently made, was now in the same discontented state as his rival when he first arrived in Paris; not content with what had been granted him by the King, through the Duchess's means, he made such extensive claims that they were, at length, disallowed, and René had left the Court in disgust.

Comines remarks that just before he departed a chance of aggrandisement had opened to him, if he had known how to take advantage of it. This was in the rebellion of the kingdom of Naples against Ferdinand, and the compact of the rebels with the Pope, who, in the first instance, applied to René to aid in the conquest of a kingdom to which the young Duke

himself laid claim. René was delighted at the opportunity, and began to prepare accordingly, the King himself promising to assist him; but when he had proceeded as far as Lyons he received commands from King Charles to go no further, for that he intended to undertake the great quarrel himself.

The Pope, meantime, after impatiently waiting for the succours of René, was wearied out, and, his policy changing, he saw that it was safer to depend on Charles of France, not, however, contemplating that the young King would invade Italy in person.

The Venetians, who looked upon René as "un homme mort," and feared that if the King of Spain should become possessor of Naples he would be too powerful, were content that the kingdom should be offered to France. De Comines on this remarks, "Et croy qu'ils ne pensoient point que ce qui en advint après deut advenir."

The conquest of Italy had long been a favourite dream of the French. The sumptuous armour of Lombardy, and the gorgeous stuffs of Florence, brought, from time to time, by successful adventurers to France, had excited the wish of obtaining similar treasures; the soft climate, the delicious wines of the south, the luxury and the ease of life which was represented as common to the Italians, were the themes of conversation and the objects of desire. The Kings of France had never lost sight of Italy, but Louis XI. had made himself a claim through the means of René d'Anjou, the dispossessed troubadour King of Sicily, who had named his nephew, Charles du Maine, his heir, to the prejudice of

René II., Duke of Lorraine, his eldest daughter's son. Charles du Maine, in his turn, had left the succession of all his estates to Louis, King of France, and on this Charles VIII. founded his right to the crowns of Naples and Sicily, possessed, in his time, by Ferdinand of Aragon, son of Alphonso the Magnanimous.

The period was propitious for Charles, for the tyranny of Ferdinand had caused him to be singularly unpopular, and the greatest part of the Sicilian nobles had revolted against him. They would willingly have chosen young René as their King, but the delays of that Prince and other interests induced them to offer the Crown to the King of France.

Young René was at first supported by Ludovico, called Il Moro, son of Francesco Sforza. Ludovico had usurped the Regency of Milan from the mother of his great nephew, Giovanni Galeazzo, who was incapable, from infirmities, of reigning, but who was still Duke in name. Ludovico was desirous to unite the jarring factions of Italy to his own advantage, but was opposed by the Venetians, and had little confidence in the new Pope, Alexander VI., with whom, however, he appeared to make common cause; he, therefore, thought he could use the French for his purpose by joining with Alexander in inviting them into Italy.

The offer was the more inviting that Charles had been dreaming of the conquest of Constantinople, and had formed the plan of making friends with the Pope, and gaining from him the custody of the dethroned Sultan Zizim, whose dominions his brother, Bajazet, had usurped; in his name, therefore, he proposed to march against

the Turk and conquer for himself. To assist a holy war against the Infidel was a popular undertaking that the Pope could not but approve.

While still undecided, but always thinking on the subject, the detested Ferdinand died, leaving his son, Alphonso II., already celebrated for his successes against the Turks, his heir; and to his brother, Frederic, was given the command of the Neapolitan fleet.

Things were in this position in Italy when the French King was meditating his imprudent, romantic, and, as it proved, useless expedition.

The anxiety of Charles to commence operations became daily greater and greater, until it was a perfect mania with him and his courtiers.* Louis of Orleans

* The following passage is in Comines: "Toutefois le Roy estant ja de dix-neuf ans., ou plus, *nourry de ceux que j'ay nommés* qui luy disoient journellement qui le dit Royaume de Naples luy devoit appartenir. Je le dis volontiers, parce que souvent petits gens en menoient grande noise; et ainsi le sceus par aucuns de ces Ambassadeurs, qui alloient à Rome, Florence, Genes, et ailleurs pour le dit Duc de Lorraine, et le sceus mesmement par le dit Duc propre, qui vint passer par Moulins, où lors me tenois pour les differends de Cour, avec le dit Duc Jehan de Bourbon. Ja son entreprise étoit demy perduë, pour la longue attente, et allay au devant de luy, combien *que ne luy fusse tenu.*[a] Car il m'avoit aidé à chasser de la Cour *avec rudes et folles paroles.* Il me fit le plus grande chere du monde, *soy doulent* de ceux *qui demeuroient au Gouvernement.* Il fut deux jours avecques le Duc Jehan de Bourbon et puis tira vers Lion. En somme ses amis estoient si las et si foulez pour l'avoir attendu, que le Pape avoit appointé, et les Barons du Royaume aussi, lesquels sur la séureté du dit appointement allèrent à Naples, ou tous furent pris, combien que le Pape, les Venetiens, et le Roy d'Espagne, et les Florentins, s'etoient obligéz de faire tenir le dit appointement et eussent juré et promis leur séureté. Le Prince de Salerne[b] eschappa

[a] René was one of those who were instrumental in the disgrace of Comines.

[b] Antoine de St. Severin, afterwards celebrated as commander of the fleet.

also indulged in bright visions of conquest, and lost no opportunity of advising the enterprise. Meantime, the Court was all gaiety and brilliancy, and nothing could exceed its extravagance or expense; but there was no money wherewith to undertake the conquest of a kingdom, and the Duchess of Bourbon and her husband saw with infinite regret the imprudence into which the King was being hurried.

"I do not say," says Comines, "that the King was not wise enough for his age, but he was only just out of his eggshell, and had neither sense, money, nor anything else necessary for such an undertaking. Nevertheless, in spite of the state of the finances, the preparations went on, and Charles set out for Lyons, to be, as it was thought, nearer to the scene of action, yet no one, as yet, thought he would command his armies in person, and cross the mountains that divided him from Italy.*

His restless spirit, the more averse to inaction that he had been so long curbed, prevented Charles being content in his gay Court, with his charming young wife, and the Dauphin, who had been born at the end of the first year of his marriage, 10th of October, 1492.

qui vint par deça et ne voulut point estre compris au dit appointement, cognissant le dit Ferrand. Le dit Duc de Lorraine s'en alla bien honteux en son pays et onques puis n'eut authorité vers le Roy, et perdit ses Gens d'Armes, et les 36,000 francs qu'il avait pour Provence et jusques à cette heure (qui est l'an, mil. quatre cens quatre vingts dix sept) est encore en cet estat."

* Brantôme, and M. le Gendre, who follows him, insist that the Admiral Bonnivet persuaded the King to cross the mountains that he might show Charles a fair lady, named Clarise, whom he loved. It was a strange reason for so great a purpose as the conquest of the country.

Hilarion de la Coste, the historian, gives a very particular account of the grand christening of the little Prince, who was a fine child, and the object of singular exultation and delight throughout the kingdom.

The christening took place in the Chapelle de Plessis au Parc, and what gave greater solemnity to the ceremony was the fact that the famous Cordelier Saint François de Paule, looked upon already as a saint, stood for him as his godfather at the font, being thus admitted, in spite of his humility, to entire equality with the first Princes of the Court, who were all there on the occasion, and associated with the Duke of Orleans and the Duke of Bourbon, both godfathers as well, the Queen of Sicily being the godmother. They are described as all dressed in cloth of gold "moult riche."

The procession to carry the infant to the font was very splendid.

M. de Nemours carried the taper.

M. de Foix the golden saltcellar.

M. de Vendôme the water vessel.

The brother of M. de Foix, the basin and towel.

The Prince of Orange, bareheaded, wearing a robe of cloth of gold, training on the ground, held one end of the golden mantle which covered M. le Dauphin, and Madame l'Admirale, widow of the late M. le Bastarde de Bourbon, carried the *cresmeau*, which vessel was adorned with an immense carbuncle and other jewels of great value.

After these followed the Duchesses of *Orleans*, and of Bourbon, and the Queen of Sicily, with a long train of ladies in due order. Five hundred torches were

borne by the archers of the guard, and in this state the infant was brought to the chapel, where his Royal father was kneeling in great devotion with the holy Brother François de Paule, generally called "Le Saint Homme du Parc de Plessis."

The child was baptised by a "notable religieux," of great sanctity and devotion, named Jean Bourgeois, a Cordelier de l'Observance; and the holy brother François holding the infant by the hand, named him Charles Roland; after which the assembly was edified by a variety of prayers and benedictions more than were usual on such occasions.

St. François de Paule, from that time, never quitted the young Queen, and she held him in the deepest reverence and respect, founding, at Lyons, a monastery for his benefit.*

The young Queen accompanied her husband to Lyons, where they remained some time, while preparations went on for the Italian expedition, and while he waited to begin war in earnest, Charles indulged his imagination in its semblance. The city of Lyons became the arena of the scenes in which the King and all his Court practised themselves. Not a day passed without new jousts and tournaments. At every corner of the streets† were platforms erected where Knights

* Comines, to whom he was known, thus speaks of François Mutorel, the famous "Saint Homme du Plessis." "Je ne pense avoir jamais vu un homme vivant d'une si sainte vie, et où il semblait mieux que le Saint Esprit parlât par sa bouche, car il n'étoit clerc ni lettré et *n'apprit jamais rien*:" he adds, with his characteristic naïveté, or astuteness, "vrai est, que la langue Italienne lui aidait bien à se faire émerveiller."

† *Archives Curieuses de l'Histoire de France.* Cimber. *Mem. par*

challenged all comers. The utmost magnificence of dress was displayed; the young nobles exhibited themselves in fancy costumes as Greeks, Romans, Moors, or Turks, each adopting a device of more or less meaning.

Martial songs were composed and sung, and the ladies, who came in crowds to the Court, spoke only of war and glory, until the King's imagination was so heated that he could rest neither night nor day. Louis of Orleans was one of the most esteemed of the combatants, and his martial ardour communicated itself to the other spirits ready enough to catch the flame. But in the midst of these amusements there was a sudden cry of the plague, that scourge of the middle ages, and the whole Court was obliged to fly.

Charles, accompanied by the Queen, took his way to Vienne, a few leagues from Lyons, which was free from infection, and there he paused awhile, after which the journey was resumed, and at every town, as they passed, the Royal pair were received with an enthusiasm of loyalty. At Villeneuve, St. Andrieux, and Rine, all was joy and delight, and at length they stopped at Grenoble, from whence Charles was to begin his venture, and the Queen, it had been decided, should take leave of him and return to Paris.

The solemn entry into Grenoble is described* as most sumptuous, as well on the part of the Church, in notable

une personne d'esprit. "Ainsy par ces resemblances de combats, par les magnificiences, par les fanfares des trompettes, par le chant des poètes et par les enchantements des dames il esleva le cœur de ce jeune Roy à hautes enterprises et l'enflamma du desir de la gloire."

* By Pierre Desrez de Troyes. *Archives Curieuses. Relation du Voyage du Roi Charles VIII.*

processions of numerous reliquaries and priests clothed in "fort riches chappes," as on that of the nobles and the Courts of the Parliament of Grenoble, numerous officers, citizens, and the commons all in "belles livrées," with no want of devices and pageantries. The keys of the town were presented in great form, and a splendid dais prepared for the King to walk under, besides another for the Queen, of blue and golden stars, to represent a sky. Tapestries of the most beautiful work were displayed from balconies "beaux mystères et histoires" represented, "designant l'excellent honeur et louange du Roy et de la Reyne autant qu'il est possible, *car on n'y avoit rien obmis.*" In this state they were conducted to the great church of Grenoble, where orisons were aid, after which they were led to the House of Parliament of Grenoble, which had been prepared for their reception, and which, we are assured, was "un beau logement très spacieux."

For six days, the party remained there, and then Charles took leave of his Queen, who began her way back "to France."

Before Charles had left Lyons* he had already made

* At the very beginning of the Italian campaign, Ludovico Sforza, according to Comines, repented having called the French into Italy, for he found that all the towns which were conquered King Charles intended to keep for himself, and not to allow him to take possession of. Nevertheless, he was obliged to lend the King thirty thousand ducats, and, "marvellously discontented," he quitted his dangerous ally, whom he had visited at Lyons: "Oncques puis le Roy ne le vit, mais il laissa Messire Galeas de St. Severin avec le Roy et entendoit qu'il fut en tous conseil avec le C. Charles de Bellejoyeuse. Estant le Roy dedans Pise le dit Messire Galeas, conduit deson maistre, fit venir en son logis des principaux Bourgeois de la Ville et leur conseilla se rebeller contre les Florentins et requerir

all proper dispositions for the Government of the kingdom during his absence, and the Duke of Bourbon was named Regent, the Duchess, though not named, was associated with him, but the title was no longer hers, and, moreover, the young Queen was named in conjunction with her husband, and she was aware that, but for her youth, more power would have been given into her hands. The Duke of Orleans lingered for some time behind the King, unwilling to quit the pleasures and amusements of the capital, and, it has been hinted, that he took so much pleasure in the sight of the Queen that he could not resolve to quit the spot where he could behold her. Since he had been forced to give up his hopes to his cousin he had no longer interfered in politics, and, it was said, had thrown himself into dissipation to banish regret. Whether Anne de Bretagne did not approve of his general mode of conduct, or that she feared to allow herself an intimacy which her present position rendered unsuitable, the favour of the Duke does not appear to have been very great at this time with her,

au Roy qu'il les mît en liberté, esperant que par ce moyen ladite cité de Pise tomberoit sous la main du Duc de Milan, où autres fois avoit esté du temps du Duc Jehan Galeas, le premier de ce nom en la maison de Milan, *un grand et mauvais tyran, mais honorable.* Toutefois son corps est aux Chartreux à Pavie près du Parc, plus haut que le grand autel et le m'ont monstré les Chartreux, au moins ses os, et y monte t'on par une eschelle, *lesquels sentoient comme la nature ordonne;* et un natif de Bourges le m'appella *Sainct,* et je lui demanday en l'oreille pourquoy il l'appelloit *Sainct* et qu'il pouvoit voir peintes à l'entour de luy les armes de pusieurs citéz qu'il avoit usurpées, où il n'avoit nul droit; et luy et son cheval estoient plus haut que l'autel et taillez de pierre et son corps sous le pied dudit cheval. Il me respondit tous bas: 'Nous appellons, dit-il, en ce pays icy *Saincts* tous ceux qui nous font du bien' et il fit cette belle Eglise de Chartreux qui à la vérité est la plus belle que jáye jamais veue et toute de beau marbre."—*Comines.*

but it appears that the extreme piety, patience, and gentleness of Jeanne, Duchess of Orleans, the wife of her late lover, had entirely gained her regard and respect.

Louis, now that he was free and unconstrained, does not seem to have shown her the gratitude she had a right to expect, and she lived separate from him in pious seclusion, seldom appearing at Court on festive occasions, but only on those of State, uncomplaining and enduring as before. Scarcely had the King left his kingdom, in spite of all the remonstrances of his more prudent, though ambitious, sister, than the latter began to flatter herself that her reign would recommence, for she had entire command over her husband, who had always looked to her for advice, and who regarded her as superior to himself in judgment, but the Duchess found, to her mortification, that the young Queen was not to be governed or dictated to in any particular, and that she had to contend with a mind as vigorous and a will as resolute as her own. No prerogative or authority were permitted her by the Queen, who allowed no approach to her rights, no attempt to diminish her dignity.

Brantôme exclaims, with his usual gaiety of manner, "She tried to encroach a little, but she found it would not answer, for Queen Anne was a spirited Bretonne,* excessively grand and haughty in her dealings with her equals, so that Madame de Bourbon was fain to draw

* "Elle trouva bien chaussure à son pied, comme l'on dit, car la Reine Anne, étoit une fine Bretonne et qui étoit fort superbe et entière à l'endroit de ses égaux."

back and leave the Queen, her sister-in-law, to keep her rank, and maintain her greatness and majesty, which, indeed, she had good right to do; which, nevertheless, vexed her not a little."

When the extraordinary pride of the Duchess is considered, it may easily be imagined that she writhed under the weight of a power greater than her own, and must, at times, have wished that the playful, witty Marguerite of Austria had not been so soon repudiated.

Brantôme relates that he had seen many letters addressed to persons of the house of Bourdeille, while Anne de Bourbon was at the head of affairs, and also many from the Kings of France, but never had he observed a style so firm, or a tone so haughty, as breathed in those of the Duchess. "None of them expressed themselves so briefly and imperiously, as well with the highest as the lowest." She always signed *Anne de France*, and sometimes even *Anne* alone, without adding "*yours*," as is usual with all but reigning Sovereigns. Her historian cannot prevent himself from exclaiming in the midst of the slight censure he passes on her for her pride, "Si vouloit—elle mettre le nez où elle pouvoit. *Certes c'étoit une maîtresse femme!* un petit pourtant brouillonne."

She loved to surround herself with splendour; and the Court she held, as Regent, was not only very magnificent, but the ladies, of whom she had a great many, were expected to keep up great dignity in their conduct, if she did not extend her jurisdiction, like her successor, to their morals. Although so haughty and so dignified, that she had felt an early inclination, which became a

passion, for the Duke of Orleans, there is little doubt; nor that the indifference he showed at first, and contempt afterwards, when she imprudently allowed him to perceive her attachment, caused her to change her love into hate. But she mastered both after the marriage of the King and the liberty of Louis, and does not appear to have shown either weakness or resentment afterwards. Her own opinion, reported by her chroniclers, is somewhat remarkable, and bears no little resemblance to those often expressed by her father, whom she closely resembled: "As to the prudence of women, the most virtuous were the least foolish; for there never yet was one who, either in youth, or at a more advanced age, had not loved, or been tempted to love, some more, some less."

CHAPTER XVIII.

RAPID SUCCESS—SAVONAROLA—THE PULPIT OF SAN M. DEL FIORE—SAVONAROLA'S ADDRESS TO KING CHARLES—HIS ELOQUENCE—FATE OF THE PROPHET—SICKNESS—GIOVANNI GALEAZZO—PIETRO DE' MEDICI—HONEST CITIZEN—THE FIRST NEWS—LEAVING ITALY—REAPPEARANCE OF SAVONAROLA—THE JUDGMENT OF HEAVEN—THE PASS OF PONTREMOLI—CRUEL VENGEANCE—THE SWISS AND THE ARTILLERY—THE KING MOUNTED—ONE PROPHECY FULFILLED.

KING CHARLES began his triumphant march into Italy the 23rd of August, 1494,* at the head of twenty thousand men, to the amazement of all Europe, for neither those who had invited, or those who encouraged him, believed that so great a soul as he possessed could exist in so frail a body. But it was not merely spirit which supported the young King; he had become robust, and his endurance of fatigue and hardship surprised even the most sanguine. Every step he advanced in this extraordinary expedition to take possession of the kingdom of another was towards success, for the boldness of the attempt carried victory with it, and though at the very outset he found that he had no money to pay his troops, he experienced no difficulty in borrowing. At Turin, the Duchess of Savoy † unhesitatingly pawned the magnificent jewels which she wore when she came

* *Relation du Voyage du Roi Charles VIII.*

† La notable Dame la Princesse de Piedmont étoit habillée de fin drap d'or frizé, travaillé à l'antique, bordé de gros saphirs, diamans, rubis, et autres pierres fort riches et précieuses. Elle portoit sur son chef *un gros*

in State to meet him, in order to supply his wants; the Marquise de Montferrat,* equally enthusiastic and generous, did the same, procuring him large sums of money; the terrified Italians, instead of opposing, opened their gates to him, and his incredible perseverance drew all Italy to his feet in a few months; he passed the mountains as if by magic, and descended into the kingdom with his army, like one of their torrents, sweeping all before its influence.

One of the chief causes of the success of Charles VIII., in that part of Italy, was the wild enthusiasm of religious fervour excited by the exhortations and prophetic warnings of the monk Savonarola, who had in vain endeavoured to obtain from Lorenzo de' Medici, when on his death-bed, the re-establishment of the popular Government of Florence, and the restoration of the liberties of the people which he had annihilated.

The family of Savonarola was of Padua, but he was born at Ferrara, in 1452. He quitted his home to fly to Bologna, where he entered a convent of Dominicans, his love for theological studies leading him to devote his whole energies to the attainment of knowledge, and his religious aspirations inducing him to dedicate his

tas d'affiquits, subruni de fin or remplis d'escaboucles, de balais, et d'hyacinthes, avec des houpes dorées; *gros fanons* et bouquets d'crfeverie mignardement travaillés; elle avoit a son cou des colliers à grand roquets, garnis de grosses pierres orientales, des bracelets de même en ses bras, et autres parures fort rares, et ainsy richement vestue elle estoit montez sur une hacquenée, conduict par six lacquais de pied bien accoutrés de fin drap d'or broché, et elle avoit à sa suite une bande de demoiselles ordonnées et équipées de si bonne manière qu'enfin il n'y avait rien a redire.—*Ib.*

* Comines.

life to the service of God. He was appointed by the superiors of his convent, by whom his talents were soon appreciated, to give lessons in philosophy. When he first appeared as a public speaker, it is remarkable that he had to struggle with so many defects that it was, at that time, almost impossible to look forward to his future eloquence and success. He was feeble and worn with severe discipline, he had a harsh and weak voice, and his declamation was without grace. Nevertheless, the strength of his genius, and the resolution of his will, triumphed over all, and in the course of a few years he astonished those who had heard him formerly, by the singular harmony of his elocution, the power of his flexible voice, and the overwhelming flow of his words, added to a grace and dignity which enhanced their meaning.

For eight years, inspired, as he imagined, with a mission to reform the abuses of the Church, he preached at Florence, against the corrupt manners which were undermining the very foundations of religion. It was against the defects and the faults of its discipline that he declaimed, without for an instant attacking any of the dogmas of the Church; he was unsparingly severe against all the crimes of the great and powerful, whether churchmen or laymen, and his sincerity was undoubted, for he had refused absolution to the mighty Lorenzo. His opposition to the son and successor of the Duke was made known, from day to day, from the height of his pulpit in the Church of Santa Maria del Fiore; and his attentive auditory shuddered as they listened to his denunciations, and with excited minds heard his pro-

phetic warnings of the approaching ruin about to be sent by avenging Heaven on a faithless and immoral people.

His words were not without their fruit; many of the citizens of Florence renounced their luxurious mode of living; the "gaudy trappings" of the women were "reduced," and a general change, both of habits and manners, began to be felt throughout the city.

The Florentines, therefore, long accustomed to expect that some signal vengeance would fall upon Italy, were struck with the truth of the prophecies they had heard with so much awe, when a French army came pouring down upon them; and Pietro de' Medici, unable to resist the stream, although he leagued himself, at first, against the invaders, came at length humbly to throw himself at the feet of the triumphant Monarch whose arrival had been announced as a scourge sent from an offended Deity. The denunciator, now triumphant also, urged the Florentines to shake off the yoke of a Prince who betrayed them by his concessions to the conqueror, with their consent, merely to serve his own interests, and went himself in embassy to Charles, to whom he addressed these remarkable words:—

"Come, Prince, with confidence amongst us, come joyous and exulting, for He who sends thee is the same who, for our salvation, died upon the cross. But, O, Christian King, listen to my words, and let them be engraven on thy heart. The servant of God, to whom these things have been revealed by God himself, utters a warning to thee, for thou hast been directed by the Divine Majesty. In emulation of His example, thou shalt show mercy in every place through which thou

shalt pass, and, above all, in the city of Florence, for there, although there be many sinners, are many faithful to be found. For their sakes thou shalt spare the rest, that they may pray for thee, and aid the success of thy enterprises. The humble servant of the Lord who exhorts thee in His name, entreats thy mercy and protection for the weak, the innocent, and defenceless, and peculiarly recommends to thee to defend those whom he has chosen as his spouses, in the monasteries. In fine, again the servant of God exhorts thee to pardon offences. If thou shouldst think thyself aggrieved by the Florentines, or any others, pardon them, for they have erred through ignorance, not knowing that thou wert sent by God himself. Recal to thy mind thy Saviour, who, even on His cross, pardoned His murderers. If thou shalt do all these things, O, King, God will extend thy temporal kingdom; He will give thee victory in every place, and, finally, He will admit thee into His eternal kingdom."

Notwithstanding the eloquence and earnestness of this address, it is said that Charles listened to it with indifference, considering it merely as a sermon preached by a good monk, and nothing more, for the fame of Savonarola, which had created a flame in Italy, had scarcely been heard of by the young French King, who obeyed his ambition alone, without considering himself chosen by Heaven to chastise the crimes of the country he came to conquer.*

* "Savonarola," says Mrs. Jameson, in the introduction to her charming legends of the Madonna, "thundered from his pulpit, in the gardens of San Marco, against the impiety of the female favourite of Alexander

Probably the reverses of Charles, which followed immediately on the heels of his successes, tended not a little to the destruction of Savonarola's power, for

VI. being represented as the Virgin, with her lover at her feet as a votary, such as may be still seen in the frescoes of the Vatican, where Julia Farnese appears. The influence of Savonarola on the artists of the day is apparent in the Virgins of Botticelli, Lorenzo di Credi, and Fra Bartolomeo, all of whom had been his friends, admirers, and disciples; and to them, I think, may be added Raphael himself, who visited Florence but a short time after the horrible execution of Savonarola, whom he placed in the grand fresco of the Theologia, among the doctors and teachers of the Church."[a]

It was the usual custom with painters at that time to introduce portraits in their pictures. Mrs. Jameson, in the same valuable and beautiful work, describes a votive picture of a Madonna della Vittoria, by Andrea Mantegna, intended to celebrate the victory *gained* by Giovan Francesco Gonzaga over the French at Fornuovo, in 1495. The portraits of the Marquis Gonzaga, and of his wife, the accomplished Isabelle d'Este, are introduced. She is celebrated as being the first collector of her time of gems, antiques, and pictures, and for allowing artists and learned men free access to them.

The famous Family Virgin in the Brera Gallery, by Leonardo, painted for the Church of Sant' Ambrogio, contains likenesses of Ludovico il Moro and Beatrice d'Este and their children. The date is 1496.

Mrs. Jameson also describes, with great minuteness, a picture of the death of the Virgin, by Albert Durer: "It was once," she says, "in the Fries Gallery at Vienna, and appears to have been painted for the Emperor Maximilian as a tribute to the memory of his first wife, the interesting Maria of Burgundy. The face of the dying Virgin is that of the young Duchess; on the right, her son, afterwards Philip of Spain and father of Charles V., stands as the young St. John, and presents the taper; the other Apostles are seen around, most of them praying. St. Peter, habited as a bishop, reads from an open book; this is the portrait of George à Zlatkonia, Bishop of Vienna, the friend and counsellor of Maximilian. Behind him, as one of the Apostles, is Maximilian himself, with head bowed down, as in sorrow. Three ecclesiastics are entering by an open door, bearing the cross, censer, and holy water. Over the bed is the figure of Christ, in his arms the soul of the Virgin, in likeness of an infant, with clasped hands, and, above all, in an opening glory, and,

[a] Herr Brauer, of Breslau, has lately painted for the Count of Reichenbach a great picture of "Savonarola brought before the Signory of Florence."

when, afterwards, he denounced the infamy of Alexander VI., the friends of the Pope did not hesitate to attack and accuse him, until, at length, the triumph of his enemies, and the enemies of the truth, complete, the prophet of Florence, convicted of heresy, and pronounced a persecutor of the Church and a seducer of the people, was led to the stake, and, uttering the triumphant words* of his faith, received the baptism of fire.

Louis of Orleans had been despatched by the King to Genoa to take the command of that part of the army which it was intended to send by sea to attack Naples, by the advice of the Princes of Salerno and Bisignano. Fourteen vessels were prepared, at immense expense†, and the

like a vision, her reception and coronation in Heaven. Upon a scroll over her head are the words: "Surge propera, amica mea: veni in Libano, veni coronaberis." (Cant. iv. 8.) Three of the hovering angels bear scrolls, on one of which is inscribed the verse from the Canticles: "Quæ est ista quæ progreditur quasi aurora consurgens, pulchra ut luna electa ut sol, terribilis ut castorum acies ordinata?" (viii. 5.) On another: "Quæ est ista quæ ascendit de deserto deliciis affluens super dilectum suum?" (viii. 5.) And on the third: "Quæ est ista quæ ascendit super dilectum suum ut virgula fumi?" (iii. 6.) This picture bears the date 1518.

"If it be true, as is indeed most apparent, that it was painted under the direction of Maximilian, nearly forty years after the loss of the young wife he so tenderly loved, and only one year before his own death, there is something very touching in it as a memorial. The ingenious and tender compliment implied by making Mary of Burgundy the real object of those mystic texts, consecrated to the glory of the Mater Dei, verges perhaps on the profane, but it was not so intended; it was merely that combination of the pious and the poetical and sentimental which was one of the characteristics of the time, both in literature and art."—*Legends of the Madonna*, p. 337, by Mrs. Jameson. Longman: London.

* When the Bishop announced that he separated the culprits from the Church, Savonarola merely replied "*de la militante*"—meaning that he now entered the Church *triumphant*. His age was only 45.

† Comines says they cost the French three hundred thousand francs.

authority of Charles was recognised as if in his own dominions, but the money spent in these preparations was ill-bestowed, and drained the King's finances, who is described by Comines as, before he left Vienne, "sur les champs au mois d'Aoust, sans argent et sans toutes autres choses \"necessaires;" and on his way obliged, as it were, to "beg from door to door" for supplies. Never was an invader worse provided, yet he kept on triumphantly, till the heat of the climate, excitement, and agitation, suddenly threw him into a fever, and the small-pox declared itself at Asti, where, for several days, he was in extreme danger.

The first news of him that reached Queen Anne was of his illness, and must have caused her great affliction and terror; but the strength of his youth overcame the disease, to the surprise of all, and the march of the army recommenced; probably, however, this was the beginning of the failure of his health.

When Charles recovered from his malady he instantly resumed his progress, and, at every step he took, difficulties seemed to fly before him; the Italians said his troops advanced as if to the sound of violins at a fête.

Arrived at Pavia, he found Duke Giovanni Galeazzo lying sick of an illness which had reduced him to extremity. Charles kindly visited him, and it appears that on this occasion he first began to suspect his ally, Ludovico, who continually attended, and would not allow him a private interview with the sick Prince, who was more than suspected of suffering from poison administered to him by the guardian and kinsman who had usurped his power.

The kind heart of Charles was much touched by the state of the young Duke, but he thought it impolitic to allow his sympathy to appear too strongly. The Duchess Isabella, wife of Galeazzo, daughter of Alphonso, who was striving with Charles himself for the possession of Naples, observing the pity expressed in the face of Charles, took this opportunity of seeking an interview with him, and throwing herself at his feet, entreated his protection for herself and her infant son; she implored Charles also to have compassion on her father, Alphonso, and to spare him and his country.

Charles was deeply moved, but his ambitious aspirations soon got the better of his compassion for the unhappy Princess, whose tears had nearly turned him from his purpose, as he looked on her singular beauty, her youth, and her agony. With soft words he reassured her as much as he could, but she saw, only too plainly, that his purpose was unchanged. Onwards he went, and when he paused at Piacenza news reached him that the ill-fated Duke Giovanni was no more. Ludovico, who had accompanied Charles, instantly returned to Milan, and lost not a moment in getting himself proclaimed in the place of the infant heir.

The eyes of Charles were now opened as to the character of the man who had seduced him to undertake the great enterprise in which he had so hastily embarked; and he and his friends saw but too plainly that Ludovico was not to be depended on, and had much misrepresented the friendly feeling of the other Princes of Italy towards France. However, he was so far on his way that "returning were as tedious as go

on," and he took heart again when two Princes of the house of Medici joined him secretly, to entreat that he would proceed at once to Florence,* where the citizens anxiously awaited him to deliver them from the tyranny of Pietro de' Medici, who was as inimical to the interests of his country as to Charles himself.

Charles marched on, and, to his surprise, Pietro submitted to him, terrified at the success of his arms against a party, commanded by Pagolo Orsini, at Serezana, and granted him infinitely more than he had even proposed to himself to demand. This concession cost Pietro his dukedom, but did not diminish the advantages of Charles, whom the citizens received with favour.

But Charles understood little of the countries he went to conquer, and found himself checked in the midst of success, by the resolution of a few real patriots, who would not consent to give all away to a stranger. At Florence, the simple citizen, Pietro Capponi, taught him the necessity of moderation, when he tore the paper on which were written the extravagant demands of the French King, and dared to tell him that his countrymen would not submit to injustice from him, after having just cast off a tyrant in Pietro de' Medici.

"Sound your trumpets, if you will," said he, "we will answer them by the sound of our bells"—meaning that every citizen would hasten at the call to defend his rights.

The King, startled into submission, consented to give

* Guiciardini.

up all that was unreasonable in his demands, and parted from the Florentines in friendship.

While at Florence, he received messages from Pope Alexander, who repented having drawn back from the promises he had before given, and who feared that the conqueror would revenge himself. But Charles would hear of no treaties, and marched on to his destination, until Naples was reached, and his entire success proclaimed. This glorious news was received by Anne of Brittany, and her exultation, and that of the whole of France, was equal to their amazement at such sudden fortune.

Of this unheard-of success,* and extraordinary progress, Comines remarks, "To speak of the King, I must say that, from the time he entered Naples till he left it, he only thought of amusing himself and those with him; of taking all they could get, and profiting by the opportunity. His youth excused him, but nothing can excuse the others for so great a fault, for the King depended on them in everything, and had they counselled him to fortify three or four Castles in the country, such as that of Cajette, or even of Naples only, he would still have held the kingdom; for if the Castle of Naples had been in his power, the town would never have revolted."

Nothing could be worse than the arrangements made by Charles on leaving Italy, which he seemed as anxious

* Pope Alexander VI. said: "Les François avoient envahi toute l'Italie, avec des éperons de bois;" and of the King, "Que, la craye à la main, il n'avait eu qu'à marquer ou il lui plasoit, les quartiers à son armée."—*Vie d'Alex. et de Cæsar Borgia*, translated from the English of Alex. Gordon. Amsterdam, 1732.

to quit as he had been to visit; no sooner had he turned his back than the country began to revolt, and to return to former opinions, regardless of all that had taken place. The commanders and governors he left behind were brave young men, but inexperienced or imprudent; one is described, whom he left Viceroy of Naples,* as "bon Chevalier et hardi mais peu sage, il ne se levoit qu'il ne fut midi;" most of them thought of nothing but enriching themselves for the present, selling all that they found in their Governments, and spending the money in dissipation.

The Pope fled before him as Charles approached Rome, leaving the Cardinals to receive him as they might; but the King went rapidly on, having ordered Comines, who relates the fact, to meet him at Sienna. Comines had been to the Venetians as Ambassador, and Charles, when he met him on his return, inquired gaily if the Republic did not intend to send him a deputation;* all his Court seemed amused at the idea—the Venetians being in arms, for they thought none valiant but themselves; Comines replied that before he left Venice forty thousand men were prepared to attend him on his way, and he advised him forthwith to proceed on his journey, before the Germans had time to join so formidable a guard of honour.†

* Gilbert de Montpensier.—*Comines.*

† This anecdote is generally told as a witticism, but Comines relates it as a mere answer, not a repartee. "Charles VIII., when about to return to France, gave orders to Comines to join him at Sienne, in order to inquire of him more in detail what the feelings of the Venetians were towards him. He asked him, joking, if he did not think these Republicans would send to meet him, on which Comines replied: 'Oh

The favourites who surrounded Charles prevented him listening to the good advice of Comines, and numerous petty conquests were attempted, chiefly for the sake of new pastime and excitement, so that it was with money wasted and troops jaded the young Monarch continued his way.

Again Savonarola appeared before him, but this time in anger, and menacing him with the wrath of Heaven for having so ill-guided his army, and permitting the disorders which he ought to have prevented. He told him that he would not be excused by saying, in his own person, "I have done no ill." Comines thinks that the judgment which the inspired brother denounced overtook the King soon after in the death of the Dauphin.

Scattering terror now on his return, as he had joy on his arrival, the conqueror swept on—"losing his days" occasionally, as the historian writes, in conquered towns, which his followers seemed to look upon as places built for their pleasure, committing every kind of impolicy and imprudence,* till news reached him that the Duke

yes, Sire, the Seigneurie said to me, when I took my leave, that your Majesty would find on your route forty thousand men, belonging, not only to them, but to the Duke of Milan.'"

The King had not more than nine thousand men with him.—*Anecdotes Françaises.* Paris, 1748.

* "Et m'esbahis comment il est possible qu'un si jeune Roy n'avoit quelques bon serviteurs, qui luy osassent avoir dit le peril en quoy il se mettoit. De moy, il me semble qu'il ne me croyoit point du tout."—Comines.

In all the chronicles of the period there is a strange story related of a *monstrous fish* seen at Genoa. Several French gentlemen having gone to bathe in the sea, it so happened that one, who was the last in

of Orleans, against all advice, and in the teeth of the Duke of Milan, had taken Novara.

Charles had now reached the foot of the Appenines, and, in order to gain the Pass, attacked the Castle and town of Pontremoli, where a scene of violence and carnage ensued, in consequence of an ancient quarrel between the conquered townsmen and the Swiss Guards, when the latter—whose fury the Maréchal de Gié in vain endeavoured to repress—massacred the people, burnt the town and all the provisions in it, although the supply to be found there would have been timely, for the army was perishing of want.

Many of the places in this part of the country would at once have declared for Charles, if he would have allowed them to proclaim the young Duke of Milan, whom his uncle, Ludovico Sforza, kept captive, but Charles, for love of his cousin, Louis of Orleans, who laid claim to their possession, would not consent to do so—exposing them, nevertheless, to fire, sword, and pillage.

The entrance of the Pass gained, the King, for no reason that can be assigned, now paused with his own party, allowing the vanguard to precede him by thirty

preparing, became a victim in the manner thus described: "Alors il sortit du fond de l'eau *un gros poisson* qui *alla mordre* ce dernier baigneur jusqù au pur sang; luy, se voyant ainsi blessé s'eschappa dudit poisson en se defendant, mais, quand le poisson eut sucé son sang, il courut derechef après luy et le mordit en plusieurs endroits jusques à ce que par force il l'entraina dans le fond de la mer, et jamais ne fut revu; de quoy plusieurs fûrent fort ébahis, *considérant cet accident si inopiné.*" —*Relation du Voyage du Roi Charles VIII. pour la Conqueste du Royaume de Naples.* Par Pierre Desroy de Troyes. Cimber, *Archives Curieuses.* c

miles, in a narrow, wretched valley, hemmed in by steep mountains, over which it seemed impossible that heavy artillery could ever be dragged. Here the King remained for five days, his people suffering cruel privations meantime, and dangers before and behind him; but it seemed as if the words of Savonarola were to be fulfilled, when he prophesied that "Heaven would lead the King in safety whence he came before its vengeance should overtake him for the cruelties he had allowed."

One of these atrocities, for which Charles was not to blame, but at which neither he nor his Court showed any horror, is thus related:—*

The inhabitants of a small town belonging to the lordship of Genoa were particularly inimical to King Charles, and, on his return from Naples, during a fête, they formed an effigy of straw, and, giving it the name of the King, paraded it about the town with many indignities, until at length, having made a large bonfire in the principal square, the figure was thrown in and consumed, amidst hooting and execration. Several French who were present, irritated at these insults, carried the account of this imprudence to the Seigneur de Serenon, who was on the coast, commanding part of the King's fleet.

Without a moment's hesitation, de Serenon landed a hundred men, all in a state of extreme anger, giving them permission to avenge the honour of France according to their own will. There were about three hundred inhabitants in the unfortunate town when this

* See Preface to Godefroy's Comines; and André de la Vigne.

infuriated band burst in amongst them, slaying all that came in their path, and, for fear any should escape, they set fire to the place, and then went gaily back to their ships.

"Ainsi," says Comines, "la fer et la flamme vengèrent l'injure faite à un Prince naturellement bon et bienfaisant."

André de la Vigne reports that when the Sieur de Serenon afterwards related this adventure, he spoke of having attacked the town both by sea and land, and of having burnt it to the ground; the adventure and the promptitude of the affair caused *great mirth* at Court.*

It was in this retreat that news was brought to Charles that his cousin of Orleans was besieged in Novara by the Duke of Milan and the troops of the Emperor Maximilian.

The difficulty now with Charles was to cross, with his artillery, the tremendous rocky mountains which bristled on all sides; this seemed almost impracticable, and could never have been accomplished had not those same Swiss who were in sore disgrace for having committed such ravages in Pontremoli, volunteered to harness themselves to the carriages of the guns, and by main force to drag them over the heights. This, with

* "Ils la prirent par force et d'assaut et mirent tout à feu et sang, *rezpieds rezterre, dont fut fait en Cour grande risée.*"—And. de la Vigne.

This Louis de Villeneuve Sieur de Serenon was always in high favour, both at the Court of Louis XI., Charles VIII., and Louis XII. The latter created him Marquis de Trans, and he was the first in France called Marquis. He went twice Ambassador to Rome. The family of de Vence descend from him.

the aid of horses, with ropes, and with incredible efforts on the part of the men, was accomplished, and the feat remains on record as one of the most extraordinary that has ever been performed by man.

Descended into the plain at the foot of the range of mountains he had passed, the King took up his quarters at Fornuovo, or, as the French chroniclers write it, at *Fornouë*,* the 5th of July, 1495, where, though there was a great quantity of good provisions, the freedom with which they were offered to the army caused so much suspicion that orders were given that none should touch them till they had been tried. Comines naïvely observes: "at last, before it was midnight, the horses began first and the people after to eat and enjoy themselves."†

The celebrated battle of Fornuovo, which covered Charles with glory, immediately followed: the description Comines gives of the appearance of the young King when prepared for battle is very graphic, and presents him at once before the mind's eye:—

"On Monday morning, the noble King mounted his horse and called me to him several times." It would seem that Charles, on this great occasion, threw off the trammels of his inexperienced favourites and trusted to the wisdom of men of greater judgment, whose advice he had too long neglected.

"I came to him," the historian continues, "and

* "Qui vaut à dire *un trou nouveau*."—Comines. By the Romans, "Forum Novanorum."

† Comines acquits the Italians of all intent to poison, in spite of general accusations against them.

found him armed *de toutes pièces*, and mounted on the finest charger I have ever beheld in my time: it was called Savoy, and many said it was a horse of Bresse. Duke Charles, of Savoy, had given it him, and it was black and had but one eye, and was of middling height, and just the right size for him who was mounted on it. And this young man appeared to me then quite another person than he ordinarily seemed: neither his size nor his countenance were as usual, for he was generally timid in speaking, and is still so; indeed, he had been brought up with mean persons* but this horse made him look dignified, and his face was animated with a fine colour, his speech bold and free, and, altogether, it seemed that the words of brother Hieronimo were true, when he said God would conduct him by the hand and lead him to honour."

* Louis XI. appointed his Secretary Jean Boarré, as his tutor, a man who neither by birth, sentiments, nor education, was fit for so distinguished a post.—Note to Comines.

CHAPTER XIX.

KNIGHTHOOD—DRESS OF CHARLES—ADDRESS TO THE TROOPS—ULTRA DEVOTION—THE CHARGER AND THE VALET—PAINTED ARMOUR—FATIGUES—NOVARA.

THERE seemed sufficient inexperience on each side of the two armies who were drawn up against each other on the day of the famous battle of Fornuovo. The few wise and prudent men who were in the Council of Charles, endeavoured to make peace, representing that the King only desired to be permitted to pass through the country unmolested, he having no design to attack or injure anyone. But the combined Milanese, Venetians, and Germans, denied his right to pass,* and after futile attempts at pacification, the desires of the hosts of young men of both parties were fulfilled, and an opportunity given them of gaining golden spurs.

Before the battle, and up to the last moment, the King was engaged in making knights of his companions, and the *nine* in particular who always surrounded him.† These young men were so delighted with the ceremony,

* "Hommes jeunes qui n'avoient rien veu."—Comines.

† "Comme j'arrivois là où estoit le Roy je le trouvay où il faisoit des Chevaliers et les ennemis estoient ja fort près de luy et le fit on cesser."—Comines.

that the enemy were nearly upon them while they were indulging in their exultation, for two of the King's gentlemen rushed amongst them, calling out to Charles, without ceremony, "Passez, Sire, Passez!"

Charles lost not a moment in bestriding Savoy, and rode along his lines inspiriting all by his demeanour, but exposing himself with the utmost imprudence throughout the day. His dress was remarkable, and had been well observed by spies sent into his camp, with the intent to take note of his appearance, in order that, where he was, the chief attack should be made, as no doubt his temerity had been relied on. Over his rich armour he wore a splendidly embroidered cotte d'armes, with short sleeves. Its colour was white and violet, strewn with crosses of Jerusalem in gold, and precious stones of great value. His horse's trappings were equally gorgeous, so that he could not be mistaken in the field.

Comines, who so much admired his appearance, expresses the anxiety he felt; for the memory of the great and imprudent warrior, whom he had once served, came into his mind, and, doubtless, all the glittering jewels only seemed to him so much spoil for the enemy, as those of Charles le Téméraire had been at the fatal battle of Nanby.

The address that Charles made to his troops, is one of the most remarkable instances of improvised eloquence on record, as Brantôme observes, in admiration, "Voila, certes, de belles paroles d'un brave et gentil Roy pour n'avoir jamais estudié."*

* "A voir la puissance me semblait trop petite, auprès de celle que j'avois veuë à Charles de Bourgogne, et au Roy son père."—"Et estoient

"Assuredly, bold and brave knights, never should I have undertaken so great a thing as this journey, but for the trust I have always reposed in your virtue and prowess, together with the solicitations and promises of Sforza, Duke of Milan, which, had he kept faith with me, would entirely have prevented the necessity of a battle. But since it is the nature of traitors to delight more in deception than in honour, it has become our duty to combat against falsehood and wickedness; and be assured that it will be found easier for us to conquer than to begin the fight,* for our enemies are bribed and paid mercenaries, who combat more from fear than any love they bear their Prince; therefore we have no reason to fear them.

"Remember that our ancestors, in their valiant engagements, have gone through the world triumphant, and carried away great spoils and glory from their enemies, and we, who succeed them, shall escape from this troop of contemptible mercenaries, who cannot gain the victory from such as we are. Consider, for the love of God, what it is that Fortune offers you this day. Oh, valiant knights! remember that you are Frenchmen, of a race whose nature and property it is to do and to suffer great things, like the Gauls, who looked upon it as more glorious to die in battle than to be taken prisoner. Our enemies rely on their numbers, and we in our strength and virtue: if we conquer, all Italy is

lés ennemis a eut pas du Roy, qui estoit aussi mal gardé et conduit que fut Prince ne grand Seigneur, mais, au fort, il est bien gardé que Dieu garde."—Comines.

* "Gentille rodomontade de mot!"—Brantôme.

ours, and all the people will at once obey: even if we are conquered, never mind!* France will receive us who can well defend her country. In brief, we are sure of success, but let me beg you, for the present, to forget all care and solicitude for wives or children—think only of fighting valiantly; but if you desire otherwise, and would better love to withdraw shamefully from the fight, and see your King and natural lord in sorrow and captivity in the hands of his enemies, at once declare it."

The answer Charles received to this animated address is characteristic of the period.

A general shout rent the air, and voices were heard on all sides exclaiming that not only were their bodies his own to command, but that they were willing to engage their souls "à tous les diables,"† for his service, if need were.

Charles, who fought like a lion, was in extraordinary danger several times during the engagement; his young Knights, completely carried away by their excitement, appear quite to have forgotten that it was their duty to guard their master; he lost sight of them altogether, and being assailed by a large body of the party belonging to the Marquis of Mantua had a mere chance of his life or liberty.

Most of the French were in hot pursuit of the fugitive Italians, and their impetuosity could not be restrained. Charles kept his post, but, by degrees, all

* "*Ne vous chaille.*" "Gentil mot ancien," remarks Brantôme.

† The Italians said that "all the devils" aided the French by a frightful storm, which was felt chiefly by their army otherwise they were six to one and should have won the day.—*Mem. d'une personne d'esprit.*

had forsaken his side, and with a single valet de chambre, Antoine des Ambres, "a little man, and ill armed," he had to defend himself against fearful odds. It would have been impossible for him to stand against his assailants, had it not been for the fury and courage of his invaluable steed,* which fought for his master with teeth and hoofs, charging amongst the men at arms, and trampling them under foot, while Charles, undaunted and full of valour, dealt heavy blows on all sides, backed by his little valet, who was as bold as himself. A few moments more, however, neither horse nor men could have held out, but it had suddenly been discovered that the King was in danger, and some of his Preux,† with their followers, came dashing up to the rescue, and soon drove the Italians before them, leaving a space round their Sovereign which ought never to have been invaded.

"I heard him," says Comines, "relate this adventure that very evening, before those who ought to have heard it with shame." Part of the enemy, at least, did not seem very formidable, for on the field, after the flight of the greatest number, were found pieces of armour, called Bourdonnasses, which were apparently

* This is the horse celebrated by Le Maire de Belge.

"And Savoye, erst the charger of King Charles;
Than whom no better breathes from Rome to Arles."

† Belleforêt names these Neuf Preux, in his *Chronicle*—"Je les ay tous veus portraits et peints au naturel dans une sale d'une de ses maisons en Xaintonge, ensemble la forme du combat et de la bataille et eux auprès de leur Roy, avec une contenance de visage representée très assurée et hardie, qu'il faisait certes très beau voir: depuis la vieillesse à tout effacé et ruiné la sale pareillement, dont c'est grand dommage, car la veuë en estoit très plaisant."

more for show than use, being hollow, and thin, and light, *painted* with great care to appear more than they were.*

Yet no less than 3,500 men were left on the field, belonging to the Italians, all fighting hand to hand, for the historian relates that not more than ten men were killed by artillery, and all was decided in a quarter of an hour, three quarters more being taken up in pursuing those who fled from this unfortunate rencontre.

Comines winds up his account of the battle by saying, in his characteristic manner: "It must have been from God alone that we had the honour; for considering the very little sense or order that there was amongst us, we certainly had no right to expect it; we did not know how to follow up our advantage, but I think if it had happened now (1497) that such good fortune had come to the King, he would have acted with more discretion."

After all was over, the King and his party were fain to lodge in a little farmhouse, where, however, there was good provision of corn; the wretched village near was occupied by those who came first, for no quarters were assigned the troops, and all were equally ill-lodged. "For my own part," says Comines, "I slept in a vineyard, glad to get there, without a cloak to cover me, for I had lent mine to the King in the morning, and my people were far enough off and it was too late to look after them. Those who could find anything to eat, had their supper. I saw the King in his chamber, where there were several wounded,

* Comines.

amongst them the Senescal de Lion and others, and he was seeing to their dressing; he was cheerful, but we were none of us so full of spirits as in the morning."

The army of the young King continued their march, meeting with extraordinary difficulties and dangers, but all unmoved and full of courage and spirit.

"D'une chose faut louer cette armée," observes Comines, who suffered with them, "c'est que jamais je n' ouy homme soy plaindre de necessité qu'il eut, et si ce fut le plus penible voyage que je vis oncques jamais en ma vie, et si en ay veu avec le Duc Charles de Bourgogne de bien aspres!"

Half starved, and fatigued, the triumphant army at length arrived happily at Asti, where, *before he slept*, tired as he was, Charles sent off a messenger to the Duke of Orleans, at Novara, to know how he fared. By this, he learnt that Louis was in great straits for want of provisions, and begged for immediate succour.

The distress in Novara is described as heartrending, in spite of all efforts to relieve the brave garrison who were defending it, and the Duke of Orleans was in as much danger then as the King had lately been in the midst of the combat. "Oftentimes flour was sent to Novara, half of which was lost by the way; every day the people were dying of hunger. More than half were sick, and we received daily piteous letters in cyphers, which, with much difficulty, reached us. Still, we gave them comfort." But there was both treachery and division in the King's Council, and the Duke of Orleans, deceived and ill-informed, persisted in retaining his

position, which grew worse and worse, while negotiations were going on about it.*

When reduced to the deepest extremity, the negotiations of Charles with the Duke of Milan, saved his cousin and the unfortunate town of Novara, but the Duke of Orleans, on this occasion, was far from showing either the humanity or good sense for which he was afterwards famous, and would have excited Charles to continue the war, and endanger his army. He was, however, overruled, and peace was concluded.

* "Et tousjours s'avançoit le temps en la detresse de ceux de Novarre et ne parloient plus leur lettres que de ceux qui mouroient de faim chacun jour et que plus ne pouvoient tenir que dix jours et puis huict, et telle heure les vis à *trois*, mais avoient passé les termes qu'ils avoient baillez. Bref, on n'avoit veü de longtemps si grosses necessitez, et cent ans avant que fussions nez, ne souffrirent gens si grande faim comme ils souffrirent ceans."—*Comines.*

CHAPTER XX.

ENTRY OF CHARLES INTO LYONS—REJOICINGS—ANDRE DE LA VIGNE —PRESENTS TO THE QUEEN—ALLEGORY—LE VERGIER D'HONNEUR —SAINCT JENNY—TRAVELLERS' WONDERS—THE DROVERS OF MONCAILLER—A COURT POET'S STYLE.

NOTHING now remained for Charles but to return to France, leaving all his conquests in the keeping of others, which was, in fact, leaving them to chance. All his ambition seemed to hasten homewards, that he might repose at that charming city which had so much delighted him on his way to Italy. The Lyonese were equally anxious to receive the young King who had shown them so much regard, and resolved to welcome him in a manner truly regal.*

When it was known that Charles had approached as near as Venissière, where a solemn mass had been said before him, all the clergy of Lyons were prepared with the treasures of their churches and monasteries to meet him at the gates of the town, in grand procession, carrying their shrines, and crosses, and banners. The chief merchants, and all the notable personages of the

* See the *Journal* of Jean Bourchard, and the *Vergier d'Honneur*, both valuable chronicles of the time.

town, with the Governor at their head, issued forth into the plain beyond the bridge over the Rhone, where they found that the King, in order to lose no time in his amusements, was looking on while several of his favourites* were jousting with the lance.†

A band of young gentlemen, mounted on spirited horses as finely decorated as they were themselves, and all in one costume *à larges sayons*, advanced gaily to give him welcome.

The streets were hung with tapestry of every pattern and colour; scaffolds were erected where the usual *histories* and mysteries were represented; and everywhere devices and written sentences were to be seen, making allusion to the high deeds of the returned heroes. Already Italian fashions had been introduced to do honour to the victors; and shields, surrounded with large garlands of beautiful flowers, were then first placed amongst the draperies, representing the arms of France, with an Imperial crown surmounting them, and a wreath of ivy inclosing the whole.‡

Charles and all his glittering train entered Lyons amidst these demonstrations; his appearance is described, by André de le Vigne, as *nonpareil en magnificence et immortel en excellence.*

The Archbishop of Lyons was ready at his Palace gates to receive his illustrious visitor, and it was there that Charles embraced the Queen, who was awaiting

* "Ses Mignons." *Vergier d'Honneur.*

† "Où le Roy etait entendant a faire bonne chere et a jouster et de nulle autre ne luy chaloit."—Comines.

‡ *Vergier d'Honneur.*

him, together with Madame de Bourbon and a band of beauties, by whom he is said to have been received "à grand joie et lyesse, moult singulièrement."*

Brantôme says he came back "sain et gaillard, joyeux et triumphant rencontré et recuilly de la Reyne Anne," whom he goes on to describe as one of the most beautiful, modest, and virtuous Princesses in the world, who with a lovely and smiling countenance welcomed her husband, as did all the charming ladies their fathers, husbands, brothers, relations, and lovers; and the historian adds, "Heaven knows what histories were not related to them of the journey."

"After all," says the author of "Le Vergier d'Honneur," "Maître André de la Vigne† was sent for, to whom the King gave charge to commit and put in writing, the history of the expedition, as it appears in the order which follows."

What presents were brought from Italy by all the noble adventurers to *les dames de leurs pensées*, are not set down, but the Queen, amongst other things, accepted from the town of Piacenza several enormous cheeses, for which their locality was celebrated and which are reported to have been of the size of millstones.

It has been said of the expedition of Charles into Italy, that he went to the conquest of a kingdom to the sound of violins by a path strewed with flowers, for, wherever he appeared, nothing had greeted him but festivals and rejoicings; the ladies, in particular, being conspicuous in doing him honour; crowning him with

* *Vergier d'Honneur.* † Secretary to the Queen.

violets, and reciting complimentary* odes. It is also added that, if the ladies were the cause of his gaining Italy, the jealous husbands were the reason of his quitting it.

The poet André de la Vigne, who, it has been remarked, "was sent for" to celebrate the successes of Charles,† exerted all his skill, which, at the present day, does not appear as great as it did in his own, to record the events which had covered his patron with glory. His verses, wanting as they are in all that a poet requires, are yet valuable as a document, and are much prized for that reason by historians.

The title the two composers—de la Vigne and Octavien de St. Gelais—gave to their record, is "Le Vergier d'Honneur," according to the odd custom of early authors of supposing that all actions must take place in a meadow or garden.

Having once fairly set off their personages in a *verger delicieux*, at the foot of the Alps, fortunately no more is heard of the locality, which has nothing to do with the subject. A lady, called Crestienté, is encountered by the author in a dream, in this spot, where she has wandered in a perturbed state of mind, in search of defenders against the Infidels. She resolves to relate her woes to France, and is received by a magnanimous Princess of that country, called Noblesse, "*descendue de l'impériale et Priamide lignée Troyenne*," who conducts

* *Mem. d'une personne d'esprit.*

† The "*Recit* de Desrey," also gives minute accounts of the famous expedition, which had no want of chroniclers.

her to a retreat adorned with *fleurs de lis*, where she has an interview with no less a personage than "Majesté Royàle." She is, of course, promised every assistance "against the Turk," but the meritorious design of Majesté is opposed by a certain personage, called by the facetious name of "*Je-ne-sais-qui;*" this character is, however, overcome by another called Bon-Conseil, and Dame Crestienté is content.

The poet, being at this stage in a witty mood, indulges in a comic description, in prose, of the confusion that arises at Court, from the diverse opinions entertained; but the humour, doubtless, appreciated then, is too dreary to deserve translation. A few specimens of the poetical portion, will suffice to give the reader an idea of a work, as celebrated in its day as any that was ever composed.*

The departure from Rome, and accompaniment of the King, are thus described:—

Avec luy avoit grant seigneurie
Premièrement les cen pensionnaires
Frisques mignons, gorgias debonnaires,
Semblablement tous ses cent gentilshommes
Montez, bardez de moult diverses formes.

. . . . . .

Ainsi partit, comme j'ay déclaré
Dehors de Romme, très bien déliberé:
Et emmena le Turq† pour sa plaisance
Avec le grand Cardinal de Vallence,
Et s'en alla, *quant il eut bien disné*
Pour celluy jour coucher à Marigné (Marino).

. . . . . .

* Denis Godefroy, in his "Life of Charles VIII.," gives inaccurate extracts from this very rare book.—Cimber: *Archives Curieuses.*

† Zizinie.

Le vendredy, *plus tost qu'on ne dit pic*
Il fust dizner et coucher à Verlic
Le Samedy au matin à grand presse
Le Roy voulut aller ouyr sa messe,
Là ou repose, *ainsi que je suis seur*,
Saincte Marie Jacobi, *propre sœur*
De Nôtre Dame, en une fièrte* exquise.

In the prose part† is recorded how, on Sunday, 3rd of May, the King at Naples heard mass at "*Sainct Jenny*" (Januarius), when the same superstitious observance which still attracts the vulgar was exhibited to amaze his mind. Charles, however, devout as he was, appears to have been startled at the miracle, for he begged to *touch the Saint's blood* with a little silver wand, which was given him: he thus convinced himself that it was hard as a stone, after which, when it began to boil up in the vial as usual, he was sufficiently impressed and astonished, as well as all those who were with him and had seen it for the first time. The poet relates how the King visits all the wonders in the neighbourhood of Naples. Of the Grotto of Virgil he gives a surprising account, and of the "*trou merveilleux*" from whence an extraordinary wind issues; of a "*souffrière*" and two sources of mineral water, one "noir comme encre, qui boult comme une grande chaudière sur le feu;" the other, "blanche et froide qui boult comme l'autre." A "noble and excellent" place where rock alum is formed surprises him much, and the historian, fearing that such wonders will not be credited, assures the reader that, as regards these lakes, "estuves, montagnes, et trous, tout se fait *sans artifice*."

* *Chasse* (Reliquary). † Cimber.

Of the Grotto, probably "del'Cane," the following account is given: "Après toutes lesquelles choses fust monstré au Roy ung trou tout rond dedans l'une des Montagnes, joignant ledit Lac, qui est une chose merveilleuze *et douteuse;* car, incontinent qu'une chose y est mise, incontinent elle prend mort, et devant le Roy fut illec cas expérimenté, car on y gecta, *ung asne vif,* qui subitement mourut, et *un chat pareillement,*" and, adds the poet, in excuse for his relation, "croy que c'est *ung lieu sathanique ou goufre infernal.*"

In the course of his report, when the poet finds the subject beyond his verse, he relapses into prose, "choses que bonnement ne se pourroyent accoustrer en ryme."

He thinks evident signs of Heaven's anger against the enemy were given in the storm which took place at the famous battle of Fornuovo, "car autant que dura la tuerie, la chasse, et escarmouche, oncques ne cessa de venter, de plouvoir, de tonner et d'esclairer comme si tous les dyables eussent esté par les champs."

At Turin, a great hail-storm is experienced, and he describes the stones not only as being as large as eggs, but as having within "la figure d'une teste et face d'homme:"—they fell in such abundance, that they covered the ground to the height of half a foot.

At Nice, on his return, the King pauses for a little recreation, such as firing at a mark, making bonfires, and such like, not having apparently had enough of the reality of war. At the next halt, Moncailler, he describes a rather violent amusement, which seems to have been much approved: "Before mass, the drovers of Moncailler brought a car drawn by two oxen, in which

was a wax taper weighing two hundred pounds, as an offering to Nôtre Dame by the drovers; they were accompanied by all the inhabitants of the towns and villages round, dressed in a special costume. The chariot and oxen were driven *into* the Church, and when mass was ended, it was drawn out again with great ceremony, when, according to custom, the whole assemblage began to urge on the oxen with cries and goads; while, standing in the car, without support, and with nothing that he could hold by, a man of the craft, chosen for his strength and agility, continued to dance and leap, to the great enjoyment of all, at the imminent risk of falling from his exalted position and being dashed to pieces. Amidst the most frantic exclamations, the infuriated and terrified animals rushed onward, dragging the car and its leaping tenant after them, through the streets and the market-place, "qui estoit grand chose à veoir."

At length, however, the oxen were so driven that they rushed "comme si tous les dyables les eussent emporté," and hurled the car with such force against the scaffold on which the King stood, that the "maître varlet," as the victim-drover was called, was thrown out with such violence, that it was generally thought his limbs were broken to pieces: "de quoi le Roy, avecques tous ses princes et seigneurs, se prendrent très-grandement—*à rire.*"

These specimens of the style of a Court poet, as well as of the pastimes that pleased the great, are probably enough.

CHAPTER XXI.

REACTION—INTERRUPTION TO JOY—DEATH OF THE DAUPHIN—INJUDICIOUS CONSOLATION—THE DUKE OF ORLEANS IN DISGRACE—RETIREMENT—ROYAL LIBRARIES—VALUABLE BOOKS.

After all the energy, and valour, and heroism, that Charles VIII. had exhibited during his Italian campaigns, it is strange to find, according to the record of every historian, that he was no sooner arrived at Lyons upon his return than he appeared resolved at once to banish from his mind the whole transactions of the year, as if it had all been but a dream;* which, indeed, it seemed to Europe looking on, by its rapidity, its early success, and its fast pursuing reverses.

He no longer spoke of his great designs against the Turks; of his project of ridding Italy of all her tyrants, and establishing an universal peaceable sway; he thought no more of his numerous friends left to struggle with factions again become formidable; he forgot the counsel and the menaces of Savonarola; and, as if abandoned by the genii which had led him to conquest, he gave up all care but for the enjoyment of his return to his native country and his beloved Lyons.

* Varillas.

Once more the gay city was brilliant with fêtes, and echoing with the sound of revelry and mimic war, for the jousts and tournaments which had preceded the expedition were renewed with greater vigour than before, and night and day nothing was heard, seen, or thought of, but gaiety and recreation.

The Queen is described, at this time, as being particularly lively and cheerful, laughing and enjoying all the gaieties like the rest; indeed, whatever her private feelings might have been, she could not do otherwise than join in the triumph prepared for the young hero of whom all France was proud.

Ballets, in which she and all her ladies took part, were got up with infinite splendour: the Duke of Orleans,* looked upon as little less heroïc than his Sovereign, distinguished himself in all these pastimes, and his natural fondness for splendour and profusion, corrected afterwards in a remarkable degree, had full scope. His extravagance, and love of display, were quite equal to the King's, and none of the young nobles were behind in contributing their part to the general madness of amusement.

In the midst of this carnival, a dark cloud came suddenly over the scene, changing all the revelry to mourning—all the gaiety to despair.†

Two months were nearly gone since the arrival of the Royal party at Lyons, when news came that the

* "Car quand il n'en étoit à dire la Cour en estoit grandement amoindrie: au dict Lyon se commencèrent à faire de merveilleuses cheres."—Daniel.

† "Et changea les grans cheres en grandes douleurs: les plaisans ris en angoisseuses larmes."—Bouchet: *Ann. d'Aquitaine.*

Dauphin was seriously indisposed.* The young Dauphin had nearly reached the age of four years, and was a child so precocious in intellect and fascinating in manner, that already he was the idol of the people, who looked forward to what he was likely to become under the auspices of such a mother as Anne of Brittany, and a father who, perfectly conscious of his own deficiencies, was most anxious to repair them, and would doubtless cause his son to receive all the enlightened instruction of which he lamented the absence in himself.

Already, however, factions had begun to be formed, and those whose interests made an atmosphere of mischief necessary to them had enlisted friends on the side of the infant Dauphin in opposition to those of his father. Already the enemies of the Orleans family were busy in trying to sow suspicion in the mind of the Queen, that the Duke of Orleans looked on her son with a jealous eye, as barring the succession from him, although, the age of his parents considered, there was as little probability as possible that Louis would ever come to the Crown for want of heirs male.

The child was left at Amboise when his mother hastened to Lyons to receive her husband; it was then perfectly well and remarkably healthy, but one of those infantine diseases which so often destroy the hopes of anxious families suddenly overtook him, and, in spite of all the care of the physicians, in a few days after the first tidings of his illness, the news was conveyed to Anne—"Pauvre mère! ton fils est mort!"

* "Luy vinrent nouvelles que M. le Dauphin son seul fils estoit en peril de mort."—Comines, 1495.

The grief and consternation at Court were overwhelming when this sad intelligence arrived, and the despair of the young Queen was terrible. She was entirely prostrated by the blow, and it required all the attention and kindness of devoted friends, to support her under so great an affliction. The King* has been reproached for showing but little sorrow on the occasion, but he was absorbed in his desire to comfort his wife; and besides, it is unlikely that, absent as he had been for some time from the infant, he felt the strong affection which the mother must have done. He was injudicious in his mode of consoling the sorrowing Queen, as all are (and they are many), who think violent exertion and continued recreation are likely to banish the grief within "which passeth show."

He resumed, after a brief interval, all the pastimes and gaieties which this untimely death had interrupted, and finding that Anne still remained inconsolable, he resolved to change the scene for her, and carry her to visit new places. Amongst several fêtes, given in the vain hope of chasing away her sadness, one was offered her by Louis of Orleans, at his Castle of Blois,† which

* Le dict Seigneur en eust deuil comme la raison le veut, mais peu lui dura le deuil et la Reyne mena la plus grand deuil qu'il est possible que femme peut faire et longement lui dura ce deuil et croy qu'outre le deuil naturel que les mères ont accoustumé d'avoir de la pete de leurs enfans le cœur lui jugeoit quelque grand dommage à venir.—*Comines.*

† Le Roy son mary voulut reconforter de faire dancer devant elle et y vinrent aucuns jeunes seigneurs et gentils hommes que le Roy y fit venir *en pourpoinct* pour dancer, et entre les autres estoit le Duc d'Orleans, qui pouvoit bien avoireu trente quatre ans. Il luy sembloit bien qu'il avoit joie de la dict mort (à cause qu'il étoit le plus prochain de la Couronne après le Roy) et furent longtems après sans parler ensemble pour

was attended with a result very different from what the giver anticipated.

In order to prove his wish that Anne should enjoy the scene, it appears that Louis exerted himself too much, and the cheerful countenance he showed her, the animation of his dancing, the liveliness of his wit, and the apparent want of sympathy he displayed in her misfortune, caused her to conceive a resentment towards him almost amounting to aversion.* There were not wanting invidious remarks, artful insinuations, nor covert accusations to convince the sensitive and sorrowing mother that the joy of being once more presumptive heir to the Crown had overcome the commiseration which she felt that one who had professed to love her should have shown.

This was probably the first occasion on which Anne exhibited that persistance in enmity which, on several occasions, she afterwards betrayed. Her spirit rose with her resentment, she spoke angrily and harshly of the Duke of Orleans to King Charles, who adopted her sentiments, and when they left the Castle of Blois, it was with the understanding that the absence of Louis of Orleans at Court would not be noticed as disagreeable.

Louis, it appeared, desired no less than to quit the

cette cause. Le dit Dauphin avoit environ trois ans: bel enfant et audacieux en parole et ne craignant point les choses, que les autres enfans ont accoustumé de craindre et vous dis que pour ses raisons le père en passa aisément son deuil, ayant deja doute que continuant ses conditions, il ne luy diminua l'authorité et puissance.—Comines.

* After the young Dauphin's death, Louis was again called "Monseigneur," a title which must have sounded harshly in the ears of the bereaved mother.

noisy demonstrations of enjoyment which had already wearied him: perhaps he regretted the injudicious step he had taken, and perhaps his real affection for the Queen made him too sensible of her displeasure to desire to face it. He resigned himself to his retreat at Blois as if nothing could be more suitable to his humour; and then it was that he began to collect together and to arrange that famous library which was afterwards the most remarkable in France. He gave himself up for some time to literary pursuits, found in them the true pleasure which in his fervid youth he had too long pursued in a labyrinth of dissipation, and which had left him unsatisfied; and now in the society of men, accomplished and learned, and fond of retirement, he found all the happiness he had sought. Ambition slept awhile in his mind, or wakened only occasionally as he pondered on the sorrows of his ancestress, the ill-fated Valentine de Milan, whose possessions were still in the grasp of the Sforzas, and which he sometimes dreamt, might yet, if the Italian conquests were repeated, return to his sway. He read and collected the manuscripts of the son of Valentine, his own celebrated father, Charles of Orleans, the poet, who, like the tender Alain Chartier, taught the world that French poetry could possess pathos, feeling, and grace.

This collection of Charles of Orleans was extremely rich, and Louis spared no pains, both at that time and after he became King, to increase it, removing to Blois, always his favourite residence, all the books acquired by Louis XI., which were numerous: to these were afterwards added spoils from Italy brought by Charles VIII.,

among which was the library of Petrarch, and from Burgundy he obtained that of Gruthuse.*

Probably Louis of Orleans was the first whose library was arranged in such a manner as to be really useful, and he may be looked upon as the founder, even more than Charles V., of the great Royal Library of Paris, famous in all succeeding time. Many of the volumes of Charles V. were brought to England, while Henry V. was called King of France.†

Charles V. was *blamed*, in his day, for too much encouraging men of letters, and used to say, "Les clercs où a sapience l'on ne peut trop honorer, et tant que sapience sera honorée en ce Royaume il continuera à prospérité, mais quand débourrée sera, il décherra." When he came to the Crown he found only twenty volumes in his library, and he left no less than nine hundred, which were placed in one of the towers of the Louvre, called "La Tour de la Librarie." Other Princes, from the time of Charlemagne, had libraries, but they had been accustomed to leave them by will to churches and convents, where they felt sure they would be in safety.

Jean de Berry inherited from his father the love of books, and collected as many as a hundred volumes, chiefly Bibles and Psalteries, but amongst them were "Heures;" translations of the Fathers, histories, ancient and modern, and a few romances. Some of the

* *Mem. histor. sur la Bib. du Roi.* These MSS. are fortunately known by their mark.

† Amongst the MSS. of Charles V. was one containing the inventory of the ornaments of La Sainte Chapelle, enumerating a prodigious quantity of gold and vases, jewels, crosses, &c. Where this volume now exists it would be interesting to know.

Bibles cost three hundred livres, a "Cité de Dieu" two hundred, a "Titus Livius" thirty-five livres: most of them were adorned with elaborate painting.

Louis of Orleans added to his fine library, in due course of time, that of the Sforzas, which his Italian conquests placed in his power.

CHAPTER XXII.

FADING VISIONS—AFFLICTIONS OF FERDINAND AND ISABELLA—MOURNING—BUILDING—AMENDMENT—THE PASSAGE HAQUELABAC—THE CATASTROPHE—SHOCK CAUSED BY THE KING'S DEATH—DESPAIR OF THE WIDOW—MESSENGERS—COMFORTERS.

THE death of the Dauphin was but the beginning of the disappointments of King Charles, for immediately after came news that the Castle of Naples had been retaken by the Neapolitans, and the garrison left there obliged to fly by sea. This was followed by similarly disastrous accounts from Pisa, that the citadel was betrayed to the Florentines, and city after city sold at a price to the highest bidder. Defeat and disaster followed one another rapidly, and all the splendid visions of Italian dominion, and an Imperial Crown at Constantinople, were fading as quickly away as they had risen in the mind of the excited Monarch, who was quite unequal to the great task he had set himself.

Still Charles persisted in his desire to become master of all, and resolved to sacrifice troops and money to recover what was lost, and, if possible, to gain more, struggling all the while with total ignorance of men and things, and trusting to traitors, mercenaries, and favourites, who

rendered his affairs in Italy more complicated every hour.

Louis of Orleans—retired at Blois—showed little of his former inclination to resume his own quarrel at Milan,* and held back from the appointment which was offered him of Lieutenant of the King's forces. Charles was advised by some of his friends to insist on the departure of the Duke of Orleans for another campaign, but he replied that he would not force his cousin to undertake it.†

Again the intention of renewing the adventure slept awhile in the mind of the King, who contented himself, till he had decided on action, with the usual jousts and tournoys, now keeping them at Lyons, now at Moulins, and now at Tours. A new quarrel meantime sprang up between France and Spain, and affairs became less and less satisfactory; but Charles left all to the Cardinal Briçonet, his friend, and the Seneschal de Beaucaire, no less his favourite and director. These contended with the Admiral de Graville, who had really the King's good at heart, and was an experienced politician, but the favourites were the most powerful, and their opinions generally prevailed.

At this period a sad event happened to the King and Queen of Spain, too much resembling the late affliction of Charles and Anne not to excite their sympathy.

Young Marguerite of Austria, after being returned a discrowned queen to her father, Maximilian, had married the heir to the throne of Castile, and was expected shortly to present an heir to her youthful husband. Treaties for a peace with France were just being carried

* Comines. † Idem.

on when the delay of expected Ambassadors was explained to King Charles by the tidings of the death of the Prince of Castile.

The catastrophe had fallen suddenly and with fearful weight on the most glorious King and Queen in Christendom. Ferdinand and Isabella, whose sway seemed mightier than that of any Princes in the two worlds—one of which had been lately discovered under their auspices—were struck down by the same hand of sorrow which had paralysed the gaieties of Lyons.

"The King and Queen," says Comines,* "made such wonderful mourning as is almost incredible, particularly the Queen, who might be said to be more dead than alive; and certainly never did I hear of such great grief and mourning as was made throughout their kingdoms. All trades were put a stop to for forty days, as the Ambassadors afterwards told me; every man was clothed in black, and the nobles and rich citizens covered their mules with black cloth, which touched the ground, showing the eyes only, and at every door in the town was hung out a black banner. When the news of the death of the Prince was brought to Madame Marguerite, she was taken ill, and brought forth a dead princess. What piteous news in this house, so full of glory and honour!"

Immediately after this calamity came another, to add to the agony of the parents: their daughter, the young Queen of Portugal, died in her confinement of a son Three months had not passed before these misfortunes had both happened to the Most Catholic Sovereigns,

* 1498.

but between them arrived a greater to Queen Anne of Brittany and to France. "As if," continues Comines, "Heaven would not permit the quarrels of kings without punishment, since, when a great disturbance takes place in one kingdom, the shock of it is generally felt in all; and although one may seem to gain, others will lose a hundredfold."

Charles, whose imagination was filled with all the splendours of Italian architecture, had resolved to make himself a lasting reminiscence of his visit to that land of palaces, and had projected magnificent works at his Castle of Amboise, which he proposed to decorate with all the taste he had so much admired. Workmen, painters, architects, and masons had been sent for from Naples, and the most graceful and elegant forms had been decided on, and were in rapid progress. That *tour de force*, the celebrated tower whose inclined steep allows a regiment of horse to mount easily from the lower entrance, next the river, to the bold height above, was being constructed, and in the town, as well as in the ancient feudal Castle a marvellous work of improvement was going on.

Charles built like a young man who had a long life before him,* and, as he saw his Palace rising in beauty, new projects of conquests crowded upon his thoughts. A change had been operating in his mind which it is more reasonable to date from the period of his son's death, the first Dauphin, or that of the next whom Anne had the misfortune to lose the following year, than to attribute to an apocryphal love adventure in

* Comines.

Italy, which is told with the same circumstances of Ludovico Sforza.* He had resolved to renounce his former frivolous way of life, to devote himself to his domestic ties, and to think only of doing Heaven service in his future wars, for those he had no intention of foregoing.

The numerous reforms which he projected both in Church and State, the relief he desired to effect to the people by exemption from taxes, and the general good which he began to study, all appear to prove that his youthful follies past, he would have been a Monarch as much deserving of the respect and gratitude of his people as their love which he already possessed. He leant an ear to men of judgment, and, awakened to a sense of his former frailties and faults, and, repenting, it is said, most sincerely, had resolved on amendment in every sense.

Before he prepared to join the armies which were on foot to prosecute his designs on Constantinople, he wished to follow the example of his predecessors, who were accustomed to make a pilgrimage to St. Denis, on the eve of a great undertaking: he accordingly accomplished this duty and had returned to Amboise, where he paused awhile to inspect his buildings.

The whole Castle must, doubtless, have been in confusion, with so many workmen in it, and, if at the present day there is no want of slovenliness on such occasions amongst French builders, it is most likely it was no better at that time; this may explain how it hap-

* The often-repeated story of a young girl who appeals to his honour, when in his power, and who, by prayers to the Madonna works a miracle in his mind.

pened that, when he gave his hand* to the Queen to conduct her to a court of the Castle, where the favourite game of the Jeu de Paume was going on, which he was anxious she should witness, they should have been obliged to traverse a low corridor, where workpeople were passing through backwarks and forwards all day, and which was in a state of great dirt and dilapidation. Along this dim and obstructed passage† the King led his wife, and had just reached the little arch of entrance when, not calculating its height, or engaged in conversation, and not observing it, Charles struck his forehead with such violence against a projecting corner, that he was stunned by the force of the blow. He, however, recovered in a few minutes, assured the Queen, who was alarmed, that the hurt was nothing, and conducted her to the place where she was to take her seat to see the games. He spoke no more of his hurt, and remained for some time looking on with his usual animation and interest, and talking with great liveliness to everyone.

* Comines.

† It was called *La Galerie Haquelabac,* because of the name of the captain of the guard, whose men were usually placed in this passage before the improvements were begun.—Comines, 1498. *Hist. de Bretagne.*

"Charles étant à Amboise la veille du Dimanche des Rameaux invita à voir une partie de *longue paume* dans les *fossés du Château.* En sortant avec elle d'une gallerie, qu'il avoit résolu de faire abbatre, son front heurta rudement contre la porte. Il ne laissa pas de se rendre au jeu de paume et d'y demeurer quelque tems. En repassant par la même gallerie sur les deux heures après midi, il tomba à la renverse et perdit la parole. Elle lui revint; mais il retomba trois fois le même jour et il expira sur les onze heures le sept Avril, 1498, âgé de vingt-sept ans, après avoir regné quatorze ans sept mois neuf jours."—*Hist. des Ducs de Bretagne.*

The games were over about two o'clock, and he had again entered this inconvenient passage with the Queen, on their way back to their own apartments, when he was suddenly attacked by apoplexy, doubtless brought on by the blow, and fell to the ground insensible. The terror of the Queen was excessive; she called for assistance, and in a moment there was plenty at hand, but all aid was unavailing. Three times the unfortunate young King recovered his speech, but could only utter the name of the saints to whom he had a particular devotion. His attendants appear to have been afraid to move him, but placed him on a wretched mattress, the first that could be procured, and there "dans la plus sale lieu de son royaume," says Brantôme, after all the resources of what art was at his disposal had failed, at nine o'clock at night, Anne of Brittany heard, with horror and amazement, that her husband was dead.

Twice that week Charles had confessed, in preparation for the ceremony of touching for the evil;* and his Confessor reported that his frame of mind was most edifying.

The consternation of every one round it is impossible to describe. As the passage was open, the people crowded into it to behold the unfortunate young King, lying upon his wretched mattress, whence he was not moved for two hours, so much, it appeared, had all those round him lost their presence of mind.

"Et ainsi departit de ce monde si puissant et si Grand Roy, et en si miserable lieu, que tant avoit de

* "Le mal des escroüelles."—Comines.

belles maisons et en faisoit une si belle et si ne sceut à ce besoin finer d'une pauvre chambre!"*

Comines asserts that the King was attended by four physicians, but would only attend to the least learned amongst them, and refused the advice of the others to take remedies a few days before, when it was evident they were required. The death of so young a man, after having surmounted so many dangers and changes of climate, astonished as much as it distressed every one, and nothing was heard but cries and lamentations. Two of his servants† on hearing the news died immediately of the shock, and seldom was such a calamity received with such sincere demonstrations of sorrow and regret. Nevertheless, all the courtiers hurried without loss of time to the Duke of Orleans, successor to the Crown, for the three sons of Charles and Anne had died in infancy.

Louis appears to have been as much shocked and distressed as the rest on receiving this unexpected news, and his first thought was of the Queen. He accordingly despatched two of the oldest friends of Charles to her with messages of condolence, but Anne refused to see any one; her grief was so intense that for two days and nights she would neither eat nor sleep, weeping incessantly and lying prone on the floor of her chamber in uncontrollable desolation.

Her extraordinary sorrow for the loss of a husband

* Comines, who relates that Savonarola departed this life within a few days after the King, considers it a judgment on Charles, for the excesses of his soldiers in Italy, and for not returning to reform the Church by the sword.

† "Un sommelier et un Archer."—Varillas, &c.

whom she had married by force, against her resolute determination to avoid the match, strikes the reader of the chronicles of the time with surprise; but, at the same time, it is a convincing proof of the amiability of the young Prince, who could, under such disadvantageous circumstances, have made himself so much loved and regretted. All the grief and disappointment which Queen Anne had experienced in the repeated losses of her children were, of course, renewed in her heart, all the ambitious aspirations which she had entertained seemed destined to be crushed at once; nothing remained to her of that high estate which placed her beyond any Queen in Europe, of no avail were all her triumphs, of no avail her youth, her power, her influence. She had now but to exclaim with the desolate Valentine de Milan—

"Rien ne m'est plus—plus ne m'est rien!"

and, like the unhappy dying Marguerite d'Ecosse, she turned from all comforters, saying, "Fi de la vie—ne m'en parlez plus!"

Louis, the new King, was deeply moved by the account of her sufferings, and once more deputed the Cardinal Briçonnet and the Bishop of Condom to go to the Queen from him, and use all their eloquence to induce her to restrain her dangerous grief.

These two sympathising messengers were, after some difficulty, admitted to the widow's presence. They beheld her lying on the floor in a corner of her apartment, shedding torrents of tears, which were redoubled the moment she beheld Briçonnet, who she knew

had possessed all the confidence of him whom she deplored.

The Cardinal approached, intending to utter words of advice and comfort, but, totally unmanned by her tears, he was unable to restrain his own, and lost all power of uttering a syllable. After vainly striving to conquer his emotion, he was forced to delegate his office to the Bishop, who, with prayers and supplications, represented to the Queen the injury she was doing herself, and the distress she caused the friends of her late husband: he spoke of Louis of Orleans, who had sent him to try to console her, and repeated all the kind messages with which the King had charged him.

Moved at length by these unmistakable proofs of the interest she still inspired, Anne consented to rise, to repress her tears, and to take nourishment; she was willing to conceal her sorrow in her heart, and to endeavour to endure her loss with more patience. Henceforth she dedicated herself to doing honour to the memory of Charles; and, not content with the usual mourning costume of the widowed Queens of France who had preceded her, and whose costume had been hitherto white, she caused her dresses to be all of black,*

* The mourning of Anne de Bretagne is said to have been *tannée*, probably an approach to violet. An ingenious explanation of this mourning colour, when worn by Kings, is given by M. Berthevin, in his "Recherches Historiques sur les Derniers Jours des Rois de France" (Paris, 1825). The mixed colour was to indicate that, though being in grief, *black* was worn, the Royal duties still remaining to be performed, called for *purple-red*.

Monstrelet says the mourning of Kings was a *red* robe and chaperon, but after the last King's funeral his successor wore purple.

and thus introduced, for the first time in France, a habit which would appear the most natural to adopt under similar circumstances.

Leber asserts that violet was not worn in mourning till after the sixteenth century.

Anne of Austria is said to have worn *brown*, "but since her time no Queen is expected to put on mourning for her husband."—Berthevin.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE NEW KING—THE LYING IN STATE—SOLEMN CEREMONIES—MONUMENT—THE EXCEPTION—OLD HOPES REVIVED—THE POPE'S INTERESTS—THE WIDOWED QUEEN—ANNE ISSUES COINS—DE BAULT, THE HISTORIAN—THE TOMB OF DUKE FRANÇOIS—MICHEL COLUMBE—THE VIRTUES—THE DAUPHINS.

Louis of Orleans, so unexpectedly King, was extremely grieved at the death of his amiable cousin, whose good qualities had endeared him both to his friends and his people, and, in spite of the satisfied ambition which opened so great a field for him, his natural kindness of heart caused him to think rather of the loss than the gain. When he went into the chamber where, according to custom, the body of Charles was placed in State, he burst into tears, and remained some time praying by the side of the bier.*

* "*Addition à l'Histoire du Roy Louis XI.*" Par C. de Seyssel, 1507. (*Supplement aux Mémoires de Ph. de Comines, S. d'Argentré, Brusselle Edit.* 1613): "Or qui est donc celuy tant soit peu depourveu de sens et detracteur du temps present qui presume de preferer ledit Roy Louis XI., au Roy Louis XII., à present regnant soit en bonté de nature, en douceur et suavité de mœurs, en attemperance et moderation de cœur et de vouloir et finalement en heur et en felicité de Regne? Certes cetuy-cy dequoy nous parlons, est en faits en dits et en conditions du tout contraire à celuy, fors en ce seulement que tous deux ont été hardis à la guerre.

"Aussy lay sont les choses avenues du tout autrement, car premièrement

He gave orders that no cost should be spared for the funeral, and encouraged the widowed Queen to occupy herself in directions respecting the ceremony, probably hoping that she would exhaust her grief in dwelling on minute particulars of the kind. He was gratified, instead of mortified, by all the demonstrations of sorrow which were shown from the highest to the lowest of the late King's subjects, and he altered nothing that Charles had ordered or granted to the end of the year.

Comines enters into a long description of the ceremony observed on the occasion of the lying in State of Charles. "I arrived," he says, "at Amboise two days after his death and went to say my orisons at the place

cetuy-cy est venu au Royaume par vray succession, sans jamais avoir été soupçonné en manière quelconque, d'y être voulu parvenir par aucun moyen sinistre, vivant le dit Roy Charles VIII.: ains tant qu'il vesquit l'honora toujours comme père, et aima comme fils, combien que le dit Roy Charles ne luy montrat par avanture pas signe d'amour reciproque (?): et jaçoit que pour le Gouvernement du Royaume il vint en grand different avec Madame Anne de France, Duchesse de Bourbon, jusques à se mettre aux armes, il n'est pourtant personne vivant qui sçut dire pour verité que jamais il taschat d'usurper ledit Royaume, ains après que ledit Roy Charles l'eut tenu en prison trois ans ou environ, connoissant l'amour et la loyaute que iceluy Duc d'Orleans, à present Roy avoit envers luy mit sa personne entre ses mains et sous sa sureté vint en la cité de Rennes (?) à petite compagnie pour epouser la Duchesse de Bretagne, à present Reyne et accomplir le traité de mariage, qui avoit été conclu par le dit Duc d'Orleans, et après la mort du dit Roy Charles, combien qu'il soit à croire qu'il eut grand joye d'être élevé à un si glorieux Royaume, toutefois quand il vint pour faire reverence et donner l'eau benite au corps du Roy exanimé, qui gisoit sur une table en habillement Royal (ainsy qui est de coutume) ne se put contenir, pour l'amour naturel qu'il luy portoit, qu'il ne pleurat bien chaudement, dont pour la pitié et bonté qu'il avoit usé envers son predecesseur. Dieu permit que les autres fissent le semblable envers luy, car jaçoit qu'il fut en assés lointain degré en ligne collaterale conjoint audit Roy Charles toutefois tous les Princes et sujets d'un accord merveilleux, incontinent le tinrent et reputerent comme Roy et jamais n'y eut Roy au commencement de son regne si paisible en France."

where the body lay and there remained *five or six hours*, and certainly never was such mourning beheld, or that lasted so long. It is true that all those nearest him, as his Chamberlains and ten or twelve gentlemen belonging to his chamber, were better treated and had larger estates and gifts than ever King gave, *indeed too much.*"

The same minute and invaluable chronicler relates how "the Chamberlains of the said King caused him to be inhumed very richly, and immediately a service was begun for him which ceased not day nor night, for when the Canons had ended the Cordeliers began, and, when they finished, came the Bonnes Hommes which he had founded. The body remained eight days at Amboise, not only in a large chamber well hung, but in the Church, and all things were done more expensively than had ever been done for any King; neither did any one move from the body, either of those nearest to him or his Chamberlains, or any of his officers; and this service and this company continued until the body was placed in the earth, which was not for the space of a month; *and it cost forty-five thousand francs, as I was told by those belonging to the finances.**

* Les Chambellans du dit Roy Charles le firent ensevelir fort richement et sur l'heure on commença le service pour luy qui jamais ne faillit ne jour ne nuict, car quand les Chanoines avoient achevé les Cordeliers commençoient, et, quand ils avoient finy, les Bonnes Hommes qu'il avoit fondez. Il demeura huict jours à Amboise, tant en une grande chambre bien tendue qu'en Eglise, et toutes choses y furent faites plus richement qu'elles ne furent jamais à Roy et ne bougerent d'aupres du corps tous les Chambellans et ses prochains et tous ses officers et dura ce service et cette compagnie, jusqu'à ce qu'il fut mis en terre qui dura bien l'espace d'un mois *et cousta quarante-cinq mille francs*, comme me disent les gens des Finances; J'arrivay à Amboise deux jours apres son trépas et allay dire mon craison la où étoit le corps et y fut cinq ou six heures et à la

It was customary for an effigy of a deceased Monarch, "faicte après le vif et naturel," to be placed on a bed (lit de parement) nine feet square, covered with drapery of cloth of gold. This figure was dressed in the costume worn during life, and that of Charles VIII. was clothed in blue satin, with gold embroidery, the feet and legs covered with golden boots, the soles of which were of blue satin with gold fleurs de lis. This effigy accompanied the bier, and was borne by the Gentlemen of the Chamber.

When in the room of State, the members of the Court of Parliament, in scarlet robes, surrounded the effigy, and, when it was moved, four Presidents held the corners of the drapery, which was bordered with ermine. In the Church of the Abbey of St. Florentin, at Amboise, it was placed in a *chapelle ardente* with great and solemn ceremonies.* It remained all the Sunday, 22nd of April, at Nôtre Dame de Cléry, before the altar of the celebrated Madonna, so often invoked by Louis XI., and where his tomb was placed. In this church the heart of the young King was deposited, and, the effigy accompanying the body, was carried onwards till the journey ended at St. Denis. Throughout the funeral progress, at every village and town where the "honourable load" was "set down," the whole

verité on ne vit jamais semblable deuil et qui tant durat. Aussi ses prochains Chambellans et dix ou douze gentilshommes qui estoient de sa chambre, estoient mieux traitez et avoient plus grands estats et dons, que jamais Roy ne donne *et trop*.—Comines.

* See for a full account of the last days of the Kings of France, their funerals, and their tombs, the "*Recherches Historiques*" of Berthevin. Paris, 1825.

population crowded round the bier with tears and lamentations, expressing love and regret for the youthful Monarch, so soon taken from their hopes and aspirations.

A splendid monument was afterwards erected to his memory, in the Royal Church of St. Denis, by the care of his widow and successor, where his effigy, in marble, wrought by a skilful Italian hand, lay on the tomb, which four angels guarded: it formed one of the most precious of that receptacle of art treasures, till, in 1793, *it was demolished.**

* Aux obsèques de Charles VIII., "Les *hanouards* ou porteurs du sel de la ville de Paris, élévèrent la prétension de porter le corps du Roi mort, comme ils l'avaient fait aux funérailles de Charles VI. et de Charles VII., depuis Paris jusqùà la Croix-Pendante près St. Denis, mais, nonobstancette réclamation il fut décidé que, sans préjudicier à leur droit, le corps serait porté par les gentilshommes de la chambre."—Berthevin: *Recherches Historiques.*

"Le Jeudi, Oct. 17, 1793.—Avant la nuit on a ouvert le caveau de Charles VIII., mort en 1498, agé de 28 ans. Son cercueil de plomb était posé sur des tréteaux ou barres de fer; on n'a trouvé que des os presque desséchés.

Oct. 18, 1793.—On est descendu dans le caveau de Louis XII., mort en 1515, agé de 53 ans. Anne de Bretagne, son épouse, morte en 1514, agée de 37 ans était dans le même caveau, a coté de lui: on à trouvé dans leurs cercueils deux couronnes de cuivre doré.

Profanation des Tombeaux de St. Denis en 1793.—'Ne bornons pas là nôtre vengeance: foudroyons jusque dans leurs tombeaux, ces usurpateurs de nos droits; flétrissons leur mémoire et brisons leurs cercueils. Que leurs débris disparaissent à jamais engloutis, et *s'il se peut*, étouffons d'eux jusqu'à leur moindre mémoire.'"—*Ib.*

These were the words of the *patriots* who directed the demolition of the tombs of St. Denis; the memory of that fact, at least, will never be destroyed; nor did their savage fury harm the memory of their victims.

"Après bien de recherches on à trouvé l'entrée du caveau de François I. mort en 1547, agé de 52 ans. Ce caveau était grand et bien vouté: il contenoit six corps renfermés dans des cercueils de plomb posés sur des barres de fer, celui de François I., de Louise de Savoie sa mère morte en

From the moment that Louis XII. came to the Crown, his great and generous disposition exhibited itself. All the extravagancies, faults, and follies with which, in his early career, he might have been reproached, were set at once aside, and the bright side of his character shone forth in all its brilliancy, with one exception—that exception was his conduct to his gentle and uncomplaining wife, Jeanne.

Still, it is not difficult to find excuses for this part of his conduct. In the first place, he had been forced into a marriage he detested, in the next he had formed an attachment, which he had long been obliged to suppress, for Anne of Brittany.

While Charles lived, he had done all in his power to extinguish his passion, which the purity and pride of the Queen would not allow him to dwell on; he had felt a certain gratitude towards Jeanne for her devotion to his interests, and he considered, probably, that he did

1531, de Claude de France sa femme morte en 1524, agée de 25 ans, de François Dauphin, mort en 1536, agé de 19 ans; de Charles son frère Duc d'Orleans, mort en 1544, agé de 23 ans; et celui de Charlotte, sa sœur, morte en 1524, agée de 8 ans."

All these were thrown into two pits, dug for the occasion, and covered with quicklime.

" Notwithstanding these acts of annihilation, Louis XVIII., on his return to France, had all the remains of the statues collected together in the Museum of the Petits Augustins, restored to St. Denis, and caused search to be made in these terrible pits for the scattered relics of the insulted Sovereigns, and replaced in tombs re-erected for their reception.

The solemn ceremony of replacing them occurred on the night of the 19th Jan., 1817, by moonlight and torchlight.

As it was impossible to recognise the bodies, the bones that were found were placed in two monuments, one part dedicated to those before, the rest those after Henri IV.

enough in not seeking a legal separation from her. They lived apart, she giving her whole time to religious exercises and he, after his disgrace at Court, in literary pursuits at Blois.

Louis was far from looking forward to becoming King, for Charles's health was apparently re-established, and though no less than four royal children had been taken from their parents, yet the youth of both gave promise of many more heirs.

But now the state of things was altogether changed. In Anne of Brittany's contract of marriage, it had been stipulated that she should espouse the next heir to the Crown, who was unmarried; the young Duke, François de Valois, afterwards François I., was still a child, Louis was thirty-four, the Queen twenty-three, and he had reason to hope that she had not formerly been averse to his alliance! but the same barrier which had opposed their former union, still existed. Jeanne of France still lived, and he had no excuse for repudiating her.

But he had a strong hope that political considerations would serve him. He could not now, as Charles had done before him, force the Queen into a marriage against her will; he was obliged to respect the decisions which had been settled in her contract; he was obliged to permit her to return to Brittany, and remain the Sovereign of that coveted province. But France had already possessed the territory, and would lose it with regret and mortification. It was too valuable to be given up without a struggle. As long as Jeanne of France lived, there would be no direct heir to the

crown; she was his cousin in a very near degree—might not that circumstance help him at his need? What interest had he at the Papal Court? What considerations would weigh with Alexander VI.?

In that last reflection lay his chief expectation; the King of France propitiated, could do much in the advancement of the Pope's favourite, though unworthy son, Valentine Borgia, who desired to throw off the Cardinal's hat, which he disgraced, and to ally himself with the King of Naples, Frederic II., by a marriage with his daughter. The ambitious views of Louis on Italy were well known to be the same as those of Charles, and his superior abilities, strength of mind and body, and indomitable resolution were as well known to the Pope. Alexander had no religious scruples, and neither respect for the virtues and piety of the daughter of Louis XI. nor pity for her unmerited sufferings, were likely to cause him to withhold a consent which served his interests; he would gain much more by consenting to annul the marriage of Louis XII. than by opposing the step, and the King's hopes rose as he contemplated the probabilities of his success.

He, however, was well aware of the dignified, haughty, and tenacious character of Queen Anne: she was besides eminently religious, and held the virtues of Jeanne in great esteem; she had also treated him with rigour and coldness, imagining that he rejoiced in the bereavement of her children. She adored her Bretons, and rejoiced to advance the interests of her country, and it was commonly said of her that she was prouder of being Duchess of Brittany than Queen of France.

As regarded her, the chief hope of Louis was in the existence of an attachment to himself, as well as her desire to keep peace and avoid injury to the country of her adoption, as well as to that of her predilection; but he saw clearly that great delicacy and caution were necessary before he could venture to hint to the widow of Charles VIII. that the Crown of France might once more be hers if such was her pleasure.

Anne was not now the inexperienced girl whose want of knowledge and power could be taken advantage of. She had learnt much during the eight years of her dignity as Queen, and no one knew better what was due to her station. She had lost nothing of her early resolution, but had greatly gained in knowledge both of politics and human nature. "La grandeur du cœur de la Reine-Duchesse étoit incroyable," says a chronicler of the time, "et ne voulait ceder en ce qui luy appartenoit nullement, n'y endurer qu'elle n'en eut toute disposition."

Her first desire, after the death of her husband, was immediately to return to Brittany, and Louis did not venture to oppose her wish; on the contrary, he took care that she should depart with the greatest honour, and thus Anne once more descended the Loire from Amboise to her native city of Nantes.

Without loss of time she had coins struck with her effigy as a Queen, enthroned with a mantle, mi-parti fleurs de lis and ermine, and, round, the words, "Anna Francorum Regina et Britonum Ducissa." This was on her florins of a crown value; there were also others, called targes à l'escu, of the value of ten deniers:

these were struck at the same time at Rennes and Nantes.

The desire of Anne now appeared to be to devote herself to her Breton subjects, and her intention to take up her abode with them, to do good to her towns, establish the laws, reform abuses, and inquire into everything concerning their welfare. She had no wish to return to France,* and appeared to derive consolation in the losses she had sustained in once more beholding her native and much-loved Brittany.

Probably it was during the year that Anne resided amongst her Bretons that she conceived the idea of having a correct history written of the country, for, as d'Argentré observes, "she took singular pleasure in all that concerned the annals of Brittany, and the acts of her predecessors." She found, on examining the records that they were in singular confusion, and she accordingly commanded Pierre de Bault, doyer de St. Tugdal de Laval, who was her counsellor and aumonier, and a very learned man, to put all the papers he could find in order, and arrange the history of the whole country. This great work was therefore undertaken under the auspices of the Duchess, and de Bault consulted all the manuscripts preserved in the ecclesiastical libraries, which were in great profusion, but hitherto scattered and little read.†

* D'Argentré.

† The erudition of Anne is much insisted on by many writers. By one, anonymous, she is called "the idol of her country and the wonder of her age, *skilled in astronomy*, Greek, and Latin, as well as any clerk in her duchy." Her patronage of learned men probably gave rise to the idea

No doubt the widowed Queen-Duchess began, at this period, the erection of the celebrated tomb of her father and mother at Nantes, which it must have taken several years to complete, and which still remains one of the wonders of Brittany. It is called, at Nantes,* "Le Tombeau des Carmes," from having been originally erected in the Church of the Carmelites, but it is now to be found in the Cathedral, in a chapel apart, where it is carefully preserved, like those of Mary of Burgundy and her father at Bruges, also a world's wonder, and those of the Dukes of Burgundy at Dijon. This beautiful specimen of uneducated genius was not finished till 1506, and was executed by a poor artist of Nantes, named Michel Columbe; although said to be a Breton by birth, his name suggests an Italian origin, and the great merit of his work would seem to belong rather to a region famous through all time as the nursery of the arts than to the wilds of his native Brittany, but that genius is of universal growth, and springs in the cold north or genial south with equal vigour. The Duchess, who loved to encourage her Bretons, was doubtless proud of a native artist,† and there is so much naïve originality and simplicity of thought in the execution of the designs, that it is not likely that any more refined Italian had a hand in the execution.

The Duke and Duchess lie on a black marble table, with a lion and a hound at their feet. At the four

of her own superior learning, and doubtless, in her own country, her acquirements were considered almost miraculous.

* Guessin's *Hist. of Nantes.* See Hawke's engravings of the tomb.

† Lobineau merely says, "Un habile ouvrier travaillait à ce monument."

corners of the tomb stand figures, nearly the size of life, representing Justice, Prudence, Temperance, and Force; that of Justice is supposed to be a portrait of Anne herself. That of Force is finely imagined; the idea is expressed by a female of mature age, with a handsome, resolute, yet calm countenance; she is partially armed, and holds in one hand, resting on her side, a tower, from which a dragon is issuing through a breach in the walls; with the other hand she compresses the monster's throat with a firm grasp, but without effort, the slight knitting of her brow alone telling of any exertion of strength, the victory being apparently completed by her will.

Justice, always considered in Brittany a type of the Duchess Anne, holds in her left hand a book of laws, and in her right a sword, intended to express that through this she will make the laws respected. The forehead is high and broad, and has great dignity, the eyes are almond-shaped, and there is a calm grandeur about the whole face and figure which convey a fine idea of the Duchess-Queen. Prudence has two faces, and is beautifully and very originally represented; one of the faces is that of an old man in the head-dress of Basse-Bretagne, the other of a pretty young woman in the costume of St. Pol; she holds a compass and mirror, and has a serpent at her feet.

Temperance holds in one hand the bit of a bridle, in the other a clock; her dress is monastic, and the face is very noble, grave, and majestic.

Nothing can be more exquisite than the attitudes of the *pleureuses*, who stand in niches round the tomb

to the number of sixteen; the arabesques between them are very graceful, and the statues of Saint François, Saint Charlemagne, Sainte Marguerite, and Saint Louis, are admirably executed. There are three lovely guardian angels, intended to represent the Trinity, and the three cardinal virtues besides are all finished with the greatest nicety and beauty.

It is sometimes thought that it was entirely to the taste of Anne that the *renaissance* style of art in France was owing. The introduction of such figures as these, on the tomb of François, mark the period, and prove from whence the inspiration proceeded. It is more than probable that Michel Columbe had himself seen drawings of those tombs in Italy of the early part of the fifteenth century, in which allegorical personages were first introduced, and which afterwards became so popular. Mr. Ruskin, in his remarkable work on the "Stones of Venice," comments severely on their introduction, as a proof of the decay of religious feeling. In the case of Anne of Brittany, this reason did not exist, her taste was probably formed by what she heard and saw of Italian refinement—a knowledge first brought into France by Charles VIII., and no doubt Columbe executed his work with enthusiasm for those novelties in art, which were entirely so to his uninstructed genius, without questioning the purity of the taste which adopted them. What is true of Venice in the decline of her piety, and the rise of "the pride of life," does not apply to the simple mistake in judgment of the Queen, and her native sculptor, who both acted with honesty and fervour. It is curious to observe the prevalence of the same forms

everywhere, at this time, and on comparing the execution of the same idea, that of Columbe appears the more original, since his embodied virtues are the offspring of his own fancy, not copied from any Italian model.

Although the virtues are here so conspicuous, they are not unaccompanied by saints or angels, and the faults and "vulgarities" of the tomb of the Doge Francesco Foscari, at Venice, which so much excite the wrath of Mr. Ruskin, are absent. In the Temperance, Fortitude, Justice, and Prudence of the Foscari monument, there is no resemblance to this of Duke François, nor are Faith, Hope, and Charity treated in the same way. However, there is a similarity in the notion of the figures being dressed in the national costume. Mr. Ruskin thus describes them :—

"Except that Hope raises her eyes, there is no difference in the character or expression of any of their faces; they are nothing more than handsome Venetian women, in rather full and courtly dresses, and tolerably well thrown into postures for effect, from below. Fortitude could not, of course, be placed in a graceful one without some sacrifice of her character, but that was of no consequence in the eyes of the sculptors of this period, so she leans back languidly, and nearly overthrows her own column; while Temperance and Justice opposite to her, as neither the left hand of the one nor the right hand of the other could be seen from below, have *been left with one hand each.*"

In the Cathedral of Tours, the sole monument now to be found, is one erected by the sorrowing Queen to the memory of her four children, by Charles VIII.; it is

much less elaborate than that at Nantes, and possesses great merit, and a certain beauty, although it has the sarcophagus form, which injures its solemnity, as well as simplicity, and the emblems are even less religious than on the tomb at Nantes—dolphins and coats of arms forming the chief ornaments. It was originally placed in the choir of the fine Church of St. Martin, destroyed at the great French revolution, but now being restored most admirably. The tomb was saved, and is quite entire, and bears two inscriptions, as follows—the first:—

Charles Huistiesme, Roy preux et excellent
Eut d'Anne, Reyne et Duchesse en Bretagne
Son premier fils nommé Charles Orland
Le quel régna, sans mort qui rien n'épargne,
Trois ans. trois mois, Dauphin de Viennois,
Comte de Jiois et de Valentinois;
Mais l'an cinq cents moins cinq il rendit l'âme
A Amboise, le seizième du mois
De Decembre, puis fut mis sous la lame.

The other inscription tells that,—

Par Atropos qui les cœurs humains fend
D'un dard mortel de cruelle souffrance
Cy dessoubs gist Charles, second enfant
Du Roy Charles et d'Anne, Reine en France,
Le quel vesquit Dauphin de Viennois
Comte d'Jiois et de Valentinois,
Vingt et cinq jours; puis Lez-Tours au Plessis
En Octobre mourut le deux du mois
Mil quatre cents avec nonante-six.

No mention being made of the two other children, it is thought that this monument was completed before the unfortunate mother could consign them to the same sepulchre. Two artists of Tours executed this tomb, whose names are celebrated throughout France, as the brothers Lejuste.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE BORGIAS—NUNCIOS SENT TO FRANCE—THE THREE CONDITIONS—VALENTINE BORGIA AT CHINON—THE PROCESSION—THE "GALLANT"—DISAPPOINTMENT—THE THEOLOGIANS—ANNE'S REFLECTIONS—REMINISCENCES—THE WIFE OF LOUIS—SUBMISSION.

At the time of Charles VIII.'s death, Pope Alexander VI. was occupied in schemes of ambition for the advancement of his unworthy and too celebrated children. Lucrezia, his daughter, he wished to marry to the Prince of Salerno, a natural son of the late King Alphonso II., of Naples, and his views for Valentine, his son, were higher still—the daughter of the reigning King, Frederic, being the goal to which his daring flight was directed.

The first marriage had already taken place, but he found the second more difficult to accomplish, for Frederic objected to the extravagant demands of the Pope for his daughter's dower, namely, the principality of Tarento, which, if granted, the King knew would endanger the rest of his kingdom.

Offended at the repugnance shown by Frederic, the unprincipled Borgias, in order to be revenged, resolved to make an alliance with France, in hopes that, by exciting new troubles in Italy, they should interrupt

the union of several of the Princes whose late misfortunes had drawn them together, and that thus a wider field would be opened to their own aggrandisement, which even the heights already gained were not sufficient to satisfy.

The conduct of the King of Castile encouraged them, for Ferdinand had acted, in his late peace with France, entirely without consulting the interests of his Allies, and merely to avoid further loss to himself.*

No one had suffered more, in the recent troubles, which he had himself brought about by his treachery and ambition, than Ludovico il Moro, and on the death of Charles, he felt that he was placed in a position of considerable danger, for the claims of Louis XII. on his duchy he knew would be strenuously enforced; in fact, scarcely had Louis ascended the throne, than he despatched letters to all the Princes of Italy, proclaiming that his first enterprise would be to recover those possessions, his by right through his grandmother, Valentine Visconti of Milan.

The son of Pope Alexander having once resolved on his line of action and seeing his chance diminishing of the consent of Frederic, who had written a severe letter to his father, counselled the Pope to lose no time in showing a friendly feeling to France, at which Court the Princess Charlotte of Naples had been brought up, and where she still was. Two Nuncios were therefore immediately sent off charged with congratulations to Louis on his accession.

Nothing could better suit the views of the King than this state of things, and he made it a point to receive the

advances of Alexander and his son with the utmost civility; he thanked the Pope for his prompt attention, assured him that he would not lose sight of his interests, and would do all in his power to advance those of his son, at the same time offering to grant him important possessions in France, but all this on three conditions on which he insisted. The first was that the Pope should assist him in his views on Milan, the second, that he should send him a dispensation of his marriage with Jeanne de France with full permission to form a union with Anne of Brittany, and the third, that a Cardinal's hat should be given to his friend and faithful servant George d'Amboise, Archbishop of Rouën.

The King felt assured that, the Pope's interest being in his hands, these requests would not be considered too difficult, and, according to his wish, Alexander sent him private word that he should throw no obstacles in the way, and that the usual ceremonies alone would retard the consummation desired.

Louis had sent an Ambassador to Rome who was charged to bring back with him the son of the Pope, on whom, immediately after he had, in solemn conclave, divested himself of his Cardinalate and assumed the secular habit, the King conferred the title of Duc de Valentinois, with a revenue of twenty thousand francs, added to which he named him Captain of a hundred lances, with pay amounting to twenty thousand more.

The delight of Alexander and his son on this substantial assurance of support from France knew no bounds, and, after a month's festivities and rejoicings,

the French Ambassador departed frome Rome, carrying with him the vain and worthless, and extravagantly profuse, Borgia, who resolved that his visit to the French Court should be marked by circumstances of splendour hitherto unheard of.

The honours shown to the son of the Pope were so great that he was himself astonished at the reception he met with. Wherever he passed he was met by so numerous a guard, and such crowds came to gaze upon him, that his people wrote to Rome "that they had seen neither tree, nor wall, nor village in France, only men, women, and the sun's rays."*

The King, under pretext of hunting, went to receive him two leagues from the town, and, after a few minutes' conversation, he left him to give him an opportunity to make the splendid entry into Chinon that he intended.

The Duke had brought immense sums with him to sustain the dignity of the Court of Rome; he wished to give an idea to all that no such magnificence as his had ever been seen in Europe. Brantôme thus relates the particulars:—

"The Duke de Valentinois entered Wednesday, 18th Dec., 1498. First marched before him the Cardinal de Rouën, M. de Ravestein, M. le Senescal de Toulouse, M. de Clermont, with many gentlemen of the Court, as far as the end of the Bridge. Before him there were twenty-four fine mules laden with trunks, coffers, and packages, covered with cloths embroidered with the arms and escutcheons of the Duke, then twenty-four with cover-

* *Vie d'Alexandre et de Cæsar Borgia:* translated from the English of Alexander Gordon. Amsterdam, 1732.

ings half red and half yellow, for they bore the colours of the King which were red and yellow; then came twelve mules covered with yellow satin barred across, then ten covered with cloth of gold, one bar being cloth of gold *frisé* and the other *ras;* this made seventy.

When all the mules had entered the town, they mounted to the Castle. Then came sixteen splendid led coursers, covered with red and yellow cloth of gold, with bridles *à la genette.* Then eighteen pages, each mounted on a fine courser, sixteen being dressed in crimson velvet, and two in *drap d'or frisé.* . . .

Six grooms followed, holding six fine mules richly caparisoned with embroidered saddles, bridles, and harness, all complete of crimson velvet, the grooms being dressed in the same, the two mules bearing coffers covered all over with cloth of gold.

It was thought that these contained something more exquisite than the others, either in fine jewels for his mistress or some other, or else Bulls and fine Indulgences from Rome, or else some wonderful relics.

Then came thirty gentlemen dressed in cloth of gold and silver. Then three minstrels — two tambours, and a rebec, which was much in vogue at that time. The two drummers were dressed in cloth of gold, according to the custom of their country, and the rebec was strung with silver; the other instruments were of silver with thick gold chains; the minstrels between the gentlemen and the Duke playing all the way. There were four trumpeters and clarion-players richly dressed playing also. Then followed twenty-four more grooms dressed in crimson and yellow velvet surrounding the

Duke, near whom was M. le Cardinal de Rouën, who conversed with him.

As for the Duke himself, he was mounted on a large fine courser, richly caparisoned; his robe was of red satin and cloth of gold, mi-parti (je ne puis pas bien comprendre, quant à moi, cette étoffe), and was embroidered with splendid jewels and enormous pearls. His cap had double rows of five or six rubies, as big as a large bean, which threw out a great light. On the reverse of his barette there was also a great quantity of precious stones, and he was covered with them even to his boots, which were *larded* with gold cords and embroidered with pearls.

Et un collier pour en dire le cas,
Qui valoit bien trente mille ducats.

The horse he rode was all loaded with gold leaves and embroidery, of goldsmiths' work, with pearls and jewels thickly strewn. Besides this, he had a beautiful little mule to ride about the town, which was entirely caparisoned, the saddle, bridle, and breast ornaments being all covered with golden roses, a finger's thickness; and, to wind up the whole, came twenty-four more mules, with red coverings, having his arms embroidered, with a large number of carts, which brought other things, as beds, and furniture, and plate.

Ainsi entra pour avoir grand renom
Ledit Seigneur au Château de Chinon.

This was the equipage of this *gallant*. The King was at the windows to see him arrive, and it is not to be doubted that he laughed in his sleeve at the whole affair, both he and his courtiers saying one to the other, that

'this State was somewhat too much for a little Duke of Valentinois.'"

But, whatever contempt Louis might have secretly felt for the son of Alexander, he was bound to show him all the respect and honours possible, for he well knew that Valentine bore with him a paper far more precious to him than all the jewels of the vain ex-Cardinal. This was the Bull of the Pope, granting him permission to espouse the widow of the late King.

The impatience of Louis to obtain this precious document was perceived by the artful Borgia, who, when he entreated him, without delay, to let him behold a paper which assured him of the success of his demand from the head of the Church, declared, to the extreme consternation and disappointment of Louis, that he had it not in his possession, but that the Pope was about to send it without delay. This extremely improbable assertion convinced the King that he had rightly estimated the character of the man he was receiving so honourably: for the letters of the Pope publicly announced, and the assurances of the Nuncio at Paris, convinced him, that Valentine was the bearer of the dispensation.

The motive of this denial was the hope that the King, fearing to lose so valuable a grant, would refuse nothing as long as it was withheld, and would at once grant to Valentine the hand of the Princess of Naples.

Louis, indignant at this meanness, and perfectly certain of Alexander's having actually entrusted the Bull to his son, had recourse to prompt measures, by immediately convoking an assembly of Theologians in order

that they might consult whether he might not legitimately dissolve his former marriage and engage in another, seeing that the Pope had already announced his consent, and despatched the necessary dispensation, which, for want of proper diligence, had not yet arrived. The question was, under these circumstances, whether the dissolution of the former marriage could not be at once pronounced.

Without a dissenting voice, the Assembly gave their opinion in favour of the King's wishes,* and Valentine Borgia, finding himself foiled, was obliged, with very bad grace, to deliver up to Louis the precious dispensation. The victim of this transaction was the unfortunate Nuncio, Bishop of Setta, who died a few days afterwards of a poisoned cup, prepared for him by the revengeful son of Alexander.

Till now, Louis had scarcely dared to hint to the proud Duchess Anne what hopes he entertained, for he knew the extreme devotion of her character, and that without being armed with the Pope's Bull, she would not for a moment listen to his proposals. She respected Jeanne and had formerly refused to consent to the marriage on account of a fact which the head of the Church could alone annul. She was sufficiently aware of the attachment of Louis, severe as her position as the wife of another had obliged her to be; and she knew that the policy of France was to secure, by her remarriage with its King, her great possessions in Brittany; by the clause in her contract of marriage with Charles it was evident that every means would be tried to secure

* Arnoldus Ferronius.

such an end now that, a childless widow, she stood in the same position with regard to the country as when she was an unprotected girl.

Already, as before, her ladies had been instructed to advise her on the subject, and, on one occasion, when they expressed pity for her forlorn condition, she remarked, seeing through their intention, "It depends only on myself whether I again hold the sceptre of France."*

But Anne looked back and recollected how she had been persecuted, driven to despair, and at last forced into consenting to a marriage which was not conducted with that dignity and ceremony which her high birth, her qualities, and her noble Brittany had a right to expect and demand. She resolved, therefore, when her hand was again sued for, not to resign one iota of her privileges, not to condescend one step from her elevation, and whatever might ensue, to resist any compulsion, and to oblige her suitor to humble himself, as she had been obliged to do, when in darkness and silence with a meagre train, and almost as a suppliant, she arrived beneath the walls of Langeais, and was made a bride in the midst of tears and mortification.†

What private messages or letters might have been

* D'Argentré.

† Par la se void la grande devotion du Roy d'espouser ceste Dame *et ce Duché tout ensemble*, laquel à tres grand regret, s'en alloit hors de leur mains (des François) et se peut connôitre la hauteur de cœur de ceste Dame qui se répentoit d'avoir esté si *jeunement* traitée, ayant été conduicte en son premièr mariage *en la maison d'un mari pour l'espouser*, et pour ceste cause jamais ne se vouloit condescendre, d'espouser le Roy successeur qu'il ne fut mis exprès en son contract que le Roy viendra l'espouser en sa maison de Nantes."—D'Argentré.

sent to Anne, from him who now ventured to proclaim himself her lover, is not known; but the *naïveté* of the chroniclers, disclose much. Louis is spoken of as "having desired her when she was a young girl, and had he not been supplanted by one higher than himself, he would have used all means to make her his wife."

Of her affection for him, even from the first, there can be no doubt, and, it may easily be supposed that she wished as much as he could do himself that all obstacles to their union might be swept away. Their love was, on both sides, as chivalrous, and dignified, and pure, as any to be found in the pages of those romances which, at that time, still gave the tone to society, and kept it free from the licence and the weakness which the startling changes in the next reign of Francis I. created and encouraged.

A great injustice was now to be done to one of the most amiable and estimable women of her time; yet the high position from which she was to be removed was not that which Jeanne of France regretted: she had long weaned her mind from earthly enjoyments, and had given up all hope of achieving her husband's regard. The Court had been proved to her to be a sphere unfit for her aspirations, and her meekness and modesty made her so sensible of her imperfections, that she was by no means desirous to keep a place where she was considered an incumbrance. She knew of her husband's attachment to the Queen, and she also knew how worthy Anne was of his love. She did not sigh to resign her rank and splendours to the exalted and pure Duchess of Brittany, whose possessions were so requisite to France, but

she trembled at the sin her too-much-esteemed Louis was about to commit in setting a sacrament of the Church aside, for she was aware, that what he would advance respecting their marriage, would not be true, and that he would owe to a falsehood the dispensation which could alone give them both their freedom.

Sad and humiliating to her were the circumstances of the inquiry, which was necessarily instituted to prove that, except at the altar where both stood as victims, they had never met, and that she had been the wife of Louis only in name. Truth obliged her to deny this, and, as a last resource, she appealed to the honour of her husband to confirm her statement that, though she had not been so fortunate as to inspire him with affection, he had, nevertheless, submitted to accept her as his wife, as many others had done, whom reasons of State had united, nor had he separated entirely from her until of late.

She professed to be aware that the small attractions of which she could boast were too feeble to inspire him with affection, but that he had not at all times exhibited towards her the aversion which she was grieved to know was more natural to him as regarded her than it might have been had another wife been his portion.

Louis resolved that no scruples of his should stand in the way of the enterprise on which he had resolved, declared that his first assertion was correct. Jeanne, having done and said all that her conscience and her dignity demanded, withdrew all opposition, declaring herself ready to submit to the decision of the Church.

As had been seen, that decision was in no wise guided either by conscience or justice, and the pious and patient Jeanne heard, with humility and meekness, that she was no longer the wife of Louis XII. of France, and that she was henceforth free to offer all her soul to that Creator whose mercy alone could console her for unmerited wrongs and sufferings.

CHAPTER XXV.

ANNE'S DIGNITY—DESCRIPTION OF HER—DISAPPROVAL IN FRANCE—THE FAREWELL—ANECDOTES OF JEANNE—HER DEVOTION—HER CONSCIENCE—MIRACLES—ANNIVERSARY.

THE Bretons, tenacious of the dignity of their Duchess, whom they were extremely proud to see once more amongst them, governing them as an independent Princess, were much gratified at her resolution to keep her State, and allow of no dictation from France. The historians of the nation feign to believe that when Louis XII. came in person to make his proposals for the hand of Anne, she was extremely surprised. This is not probable, but she may have thought it necessary to appear so; nor did she easily yield to his representations and entreaties, nor without being convinced that the fullest power had been granted by the Pope for the dissolution of his marriage with Jeanne.

She seems to have been resolved to make up, by the ceremony of her second alliance with a King of France, for the hasty and undignified proceedings of the first. The terms she insisted on in favour of her Bretons were very strenuous, and she required that the title of Principality should remain to the country, without the

slightest change being made in the established laws and usages. In case of her having children, she insisted that her second son or daughter should be named Duke or Duchess of Brittany, and should govern the country as its former Dukes had done, without other reference to France than had been customary. She also required that the marriage between her and Louis should take place at her own Castle of Nantes, and that the King should remain some time with her in the country, without obliging her to return to France till such was her pleasure.

As Louis was himself attached to Brittany this was easily granted, and he was too much satisfied with having gained her consent to throw the slightest obstacle in the way. He cheerfully agreed to all, and the proud bride he sought had no excuse for withholding her hand from one whom she knew to be worthy of her and in whom she had perfect reliance.

Anne is described at this time as being very handsome and majestic in her deportment, with "an heroic and proud countenance, so that it appeared to every one that she was sovereign lady of all the world."* Her discourse is said, by the same author, to have been "full of charms and gentleness mingled with *imperious gravity*."

Of Louis XII. it is recorded by Claude de Seyssel that "as he had, during the lifetime of King Charles, always honoured Anne as his lady and Princess, after she was married to him so did he greatly love, esteem, and cherish her, and so did he place in her all his

* Mezeray, "gravité imperieuse."

pleasure and contentment; besides which he left her the entire administration of her duchy of Brittany as well as the lands which were her own in France as the dowry she had from the late King Charles, leaving her the power of acting in this quite independently of being his wife; therefore it may be said that never was lady better treated, nor better loved by her husband; certainly she well merited so to be, for, as regards sense, prudence, modesty, virtue, courtesy, and graciousness, very few could approach her in perfection and none could excel her. For his entire felicity in this world the good King Louis had such a partner granted him, and her virtues and excellent conditions well deserved a husband so great, so noble, and so good as this happy King."

But though the Bretons had every reason to be content, and the French likewise secured to themselves, by this marriage, all that that they had feared to lose, after a violent struggle to obtain, the feeling of injustice to the Princess Jeanne, found a place in many a heart, and it required some exertion of arbitrary power to quell the indignation which the announcement of the dissolved marriage, and the contraction of the new one, created in the public mind in France. It was believed that the wrath of Heaven was kindled against the country for permitting such an act, and general consternation ensued when it was rumoured, that at the time when the Cardinal de Luxemburg had risen to read the Act of Dissolution a sudden storm had come on, so furious and violent that entire darkness had taken possession of the chamber in which all the Crown lawyers and nobles

were assembled, and that it became necessary that flambeaux should be brought, in order that the words he was about to read should be seen by the Cardinal.

The people did not withhold their murmurs and strictures, and shouted after the Cardinal and the priests in the streets as they passed, "There go Caïphas, *Anne*, and Herodius, who have condemned the Holy Queen, and taken the Crown from her head!"*

From the pulpit, even, were heard strictures on the act, and many disagreeable truths were uttered. Louis himself, determined as he was to carry his point, is said to have been much affected in an interview he had with Jeanne after their marriage had been annulled. She had begged to take leave of him, and he had been unable to refuse her request, much as he would have rejoiced to be spared the trial.

"I trust, Sire," said the meek Princess, "that you will be happier with another than you have been with me, and I entreat your pardon for having caused you so much uneasiness."

Louis is said on this to have burst into tears and to have replied that he was not worthy to live with so holy a woman, and recommended both the State and himself to her prayers.

The discrowned Jeanne took her solitary way back to the retreat she had chosen at Bourges. As she came within sight of the Great Tower, memories of other days, when she visited her husband there, came over

* *Vie de la Venerable Servante de Dieu, Jeanne de Valois.* Par Pierre de Mareuil. Paris, 1741.

her, and, weeping sadly, she exclaimed: "Alas! *he* was then captive, and now *I* am free!"

The memory of Jeanne was always held in great veneration by the French, and what she lost in temporal honours she gained in spiritual. At Bourges, where she ended her days, she has always been looked upon as a saint, and so great was the devotion to her that, even though she was not admitted into the list of the blessed by the Pope, miracles were believed to have been wrought at her tomb. By her piety and numerous virtues she certainly deserved the honours which many of her admirers afterwards strove to gain for her name, which was never mentioned but with prayers and commendation. Many lives have been written of her by ecclesiastical authors, who dwell fondly on her amiable qualities, and relate anecdotes of her which were received as genuine during her lifetime and were cherished after her death.

It was said that her father, Louis XI., who was always harsh and severe to her, expressed his annoyance to her governess, Madame de Linières, on hearing of her extreme devotion, as he wished her to appear more at Court, and cultivate the accomplishments belonging to her rank. On this being represented to Jeanne, she replied: "The King is too wise seriously to desire me to desist from prayer; and, after all, can he do it? Great King as he is, God is his Master!" On this, Louis is reported to have sent for her and reproved her for her obstinacy, but as she did not give promise of discontinuing her religious observances, he ordered her angrily to quit his sight, and desired

Madame de Linières to treat her "like the last person in his kingdom, for she was unworthy of the rank she held."

At six years old, the author of her "Life" relates, that one day, as she was praying fervently before the altar of the Virgin, begging to know what she could do to please God, a voice was heard telling her that, before her death, she should found an order of nuns to do honour to the mother of her Saviour. She is supposed to have related this vision to her confessor, Père Gabriel Marie, and declared that she was from this induced to found the Convent of Annunciades at Bourges.

When Marguerite of Anjou, in her misfortunes, was received by Louis XI., she was particularly delighted with the young Princess Jeanne, and asked her if she would like to become her daughter. Her answer is said to have been "that she would not so much injure the Prince of Wales as to suppose that he would dispute his bride with the Son of God."

Marguerite reported this answer to the King, who took it in very ill part, and reprimanded her very severely, but she replied firmly to his indignation: "I am not fit for the world, nor the world for me;" on which Louis turned his back on her contemptuously. "Kill her!" said he, bitterly, "she is not fit to live."

The writers who tell this insist that Louis was so enraged at hearing that she was occupied in prayer, instead of joining in the rejoicings which were made when the news reached Marguerite of Henry VI.'s transient successes, that he pursued her into the convent, where

she took refuge, with his drawn sword, crying out: "Ah!. c'est à ce coup, miserable fille! qu'il faut que tu meurs!" and that he certainly in his rage would have put an end to her life but for the interposition of her governess.

At length, when he found that nothing altered her, he changed his course, and instead of continually chiding, treated her with gentleness, hoping to induce her to enter into the pleasures of the world, and be like others of her age; but she used to say: "God never changes, why should I? He is mine, and I will strive to be His."

At last Louis abandoned her to her devices, and allowed her a confessor: a vision is said to have indicated one of the Order of St. Francis, in whom she placed great reliance.

On the death of her father the King, Dunois was deputed by Louis of Orleans, her estranged husband, to propose to Jeanne to combine with him to defeat the ambitious projects of her sister, the Regent Anne; if she had agreed to this, perhaps her fate might have been different, but she disapproved of the plans of the Orleans party, and refused to become one of a conspiracy. This refusal entirely broke up all intimacy between her and Louis, who instantly listened to the proposals of Landais, and turned his hopes to a dissolution of his marriage, and the obtaining the hand of Anne of Brittany. He never afterwards considered her his friend, even when she so affectionately interceded for him, and visited him in his prison, from whence her exertions, in a great measure, released him.

It was believed that a luminous appearance filled the chamber in which she died, and the nuns of the Annunciation at Bourges, saw a golden light hovering over the Palace where she was dying. It was found that she had always worn hair cloth and an *iron chain with points round her waist*, and a cross, with five silver points, near her heart, next her skin. The tradition is that she had made this cross herself of the nails of a lute which she had once touched with too much pleasure, perhaps in the days when she had ventured to hope that her accomplishments might win her husband's love!

To conclude the stories told of this ill-fated Princess, it is related that some time after her death, at which both he and Queen Anne were much affected, Louis XII. came to Bourges, and visited her tomb, where he prayed with great devotion.

This tomb, erected in the Church of the Annunciades of Bourges, was in after days destroyed by the Calvinists, who are reported to have plunged a sword into the still undecayed body, on which a sigh was heard to issue from the bosom.*

For many years after the death of Queen Jeanne a discourse was delivered on the day of the anniversary of her death, in her honour. In one of these occurs the following sentence: "She was so plain that she was repudiated by her husband; she was so beautiful that she became the bride of Jesus Christ."†

Her canonisation was often proposed, but was never accorded. Benedict XIV., however, confirmed the

* *Vie de Jeanne de Valois.* † *Anecdotes Françaises.* 1748.

reverence that had been shown her memory for two centuries, and gave permission that her *fête* should be performed in the Monastery of his Order on the 4th of February, the day of her death, and in order to render the solemnity more imposing, he accorded *indulgences* on the occasion.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE MARRIAGE—RECEPTIONS—MYSTERIES—THE CUP OF GOLD—LES MERCURIALES—RESTLESS AMBITION—CONDEMNED POLICY—THE PRINCESSES OF NAPLES AND NAVARRE—THE BORGIA FRIENDSHIP.

On the 8th of January, 1499,* with all the State and splendour for which the age was famous, Anne of Brittany was united to Louis XII.† in the Cathedral of Nantes, amidst her loyal subjects and surrounded by all her nobles. This time there was no unseemly haste, no observance omitted, nor any concealment necessary. She was thus, for the second time, Queen of France, and united to a man she loved, and whose attachment to her, long suppressed, was now shown by every means that the tenderness and kindness of his heart could devise. Perhaps they might both have considered it more prudent not to brave the popular opinion which existed in France against the repudiation of Jeanne, and that may explain the reason why they did not attempt to leave Brittany for a whole year after their

* The date is given by some authors as 13th December, 1498.

† Maximilian, the deceived suitor of the twice Queen, remarked, on the marriage of Anne with Louis XII., that "the dreams of the Dukes of Orleans grew into realities when they became Kings."

union. The Bretons were extremely gratified at the visits they paid to all their chief towns, and at the pilgrimages made by the Queen-Duchess to several of their celebrated shrines, and the favour she bestowed on monasteries and churches throughout the duchy: building new establishments and endowing old, and neglecting nothing to do good to the country which she delighted to honour.*

On quitting Brittany, it appears that Louis conducted his bride by a circuitous route in order to introduce her to several important French towns. She visited Le Mans, and was received with the usual honours, and, when she came to Tours, there was a repetition of all the glories which had hailed her first passage, when the tears of an unwilling bride had to be dried.

This time the good citizens varied their gifts and their mysteries, and, not forgetting all that was usual, added whatever the happy imaginations of their poets could furnish. There was one mystery, the work of a monk named Greban, which gained the palm of popularity from all, and was called *Le Triomphant Mystère,* probably from the number of actors concerned in its representation, who are said to have been no less than four hundred and eighty. It required several days to accomplish it, a feat, the memory of which is even now kept up in Brittany, at the Pardons.

At Tours there was, however, one even more in favour than this, and, as it required only fifty-three personages, it probably took less time in acting. This

* *Tablettes de France.* D. du Radier.

was the St. Martin, which is one of the most remarkable of its kind, and seems to have possessed more than usual merit, both in its comic and serious scenes.* In one part of this drama are introduced two beggars, who are terrified at the chance of meeting the body of St. Martin, which was too well-known never to fail in curing all ailments at once. A blind man and a lame one consequently fly before his relics as well as they can, for fear that, being cured, they shall no longer be able to live in idleness by means of their infirmities; but the poor wretches decamp in vain, for they are cured *without their will* by the influence of the miraculous body.†

The following is a fair specimen of the general style of this, one of the best of that description of composition. The author introduces his personages in doggrel, impossible to translate :—

Premier, véez en hault assiz,
Jesus Christ en son Paradis
Et la douce Vierge Marie.
Sainct Pierre et Saincte Cécille
Saincte Agnès *qui est bien habile,*
Voicy l'homme *qui se penda*
Et sa femme *qu'il occyra* . . . ‡

Voicy Tours en cet estre icy,
L'archevesque y est aussi,
L'archidiacre san faillir . . .

Le Pape est là en cet estre
Qui est de l'Eglise le maistre.

* *Touraine, Ancienne et Moderne.*

† "Guaris seront, veuillent ou non veuillent."—*MS. Bib. de Chartres.*

‡ It would seem that these crimes were not so common in those days, as they are since, unfortunately, in more civilised times, cited as extraordinary.

Son messager est devant luy
Qui fait les messages de luy.
Icy, aussi, est Sainct Ambroise,
Et son clerc, vous pouvez veoir.
Voicy *le clop* et l'aveugle
Guaris seront veuillent ou non veuillent.
Diables en enfer son la bas
Lucifer et les Sathanas.
Je vous prie très humblement
Que vous tenez tous coyement,
Que si aucun faute oyer
Je vous prie que le pardonniez.

This conclusion was probably usual, and, no doubt, caused the lines of Shakspere's immortal clowns to be the more relished by the audience, who had been accustomed, in similar dramas, that the actor should

"Beg their hearing patiently."

A cup of gold filled with large gold pieces, and embossed with the devices of the house of Orleans, was probably received by Louis and his bride with equal pleasure as the poetical attentions thus showered on them. Not even the Court-fool was forgotten in the presents of the zealous citizens, for he is recorded to have received a gown of scarlet "*avec agraffes et poignets.*"*

But it was to Blois, the place of his predilection, that Louis XII. brought his bride with most pleasure, and she was received there with as much triumph as the

* It was soon after this joyous entry, that another less fortunate Monarch arrived at Tours, by permission of the invader of his kingdom. This was Frederic II., King of Naples, who, having fixed his residence at Tours, died there in 1504, his wife, Isabella, attending him with devoted care during his sickness. He was buried at Plessis, by St. F. de Paule, who erected a monument to him.—*La Touraine, Ancienne et Moderne.*

somewhat jealous citizens of Tours had shown. It was when established there that the King began to deserve the name he afterwards bore of "Father of his people," by the famous Ordinance called of Blois, which introduced salutary reforms in the magistrature and the armies of the kingdom. A parliamentary tribunal was established, to whom it belonged to inquire into all abuses, "pour informer sur la conduite des magistrats irrevérencieux, nonchalans, contrevenant aux ordonnances ou faisant chose dérogeant à l'honneur et à la gravité de la cour; les reprimander et punir par amendes, suspension ou interdit."* This tribunal assembled twice a month, on a Wednesday, from whence their acts were called *mercuriales.*

Louis in these Ordinances regulated the pay of the troops, which had been left uncertain in the time of Charles, by which an end was put to the pretexts for pillage, in which they invariably indulged. Strict penalties were decreed in case of the country people receiving injuries from the soldiery. Taxes were taken off, which delighted the commons, in particular that called *de joyeux avinement,* which pressed heavily upon them. On the whole the beginning of the new King's reign gave the brightest promise of prosperity to France, and could the insane thirst of glory and the covetousness of power, which were the vices of the time, have been restrained, the people might at length have

* *Hist. de Blois.* Touchard Lafosse. After the death of Charles VIII., Tours no longer retained supremacy over the other towns of France, and began to decline, though till then for several reigns it had been scarcely less considered than Paris, and more generally made the residence of the Court.

enjoyed repose and comfort, for which, in spite of the good feeling of the King and his desire for their good, they had long to wait.

Although Louis, for a happy year, had allowed his warlike propensities to sleep, he did not the less indulge in dreams of reconquering Milan and carrying out the plans of his enterprising and less capable kinsman, Charles. Negotiations were always going on with the Pope and his son, and their powerful aid was sought by every possible concession, and the hopes of Alexander and Valentine Borgia, that the whole of Romaynia would become their spoil, with the help of France, caused them to neglect no persuasions to induce Louis to begin operations.

Contrary to the wishes and advice of all around him, Louis accordingly resolved on action, and his armies were soon prepared for the expedition which he expected would prove more permanently fortunate than that of Charles, whose example of success was thought of alone while all the failures which followed so rapidly were forgotten.

For political reasons, Louis kept up the most apparently friendly relations with the Borgias, yet, though accompanied everywhere, at first, in his Italian campaign, by the infamous Valentine, he may appear to have sacrificed too much to policy in such an association, still it becomes evident, after a time, if not indeed from the beginning, that he quite appreciated the character of his ally, and was resolved, as little as possible, to give way to him, or to sanction his proceedings. The consummate art of Pope Alexander and his son no doubt

was capable of deceiving and fascinating the King to a certain extent, and the very questionable morality of the time when self-interest was the prime mover of every undertaking, must be considered before Louis is altogether condemned, not only for leaguing himself with such worthless friends, but in persisting in his claim upon Italy at all.

It is surprising that the superior judgment of Louis to that of his kinsman Charles should not have caused him to see that not only was the invasion of Italy unjust, but impolitic and dangerous to the welfare of France. Both the Regent Anne, and the young wife of Charles, had formerly added their persuasions to abandon the idea, and now that Anne of Brittany had gained experience with age, she was even more strenuous in dissuading her present husband from so useless a waste of life and treasure. But the wild ambition which grasped shadows so blinded the minds of the still half-civilised warriors of the time, that neither the arguments of reason and common sense nor the considerations of humanity had any weight in the opposite scale.

Louis XII. was known to possess an upright and generous character; he was careful and wise, beyond the age he lived in, in many of his notions; very humane and fond of his people, an enemy to oppression at home, and easily persuaded to a generous action; yet he could not be persuaded to see cruelty, rapacity, savage barbarity, and reckless folly, in the attack he made upon a country on which his claims were as nearly as possible imaginary.

Meantime, as it continued to be important to Louis XII. to keep on the best terms with the Pope, he consented to do his utmost to further the suit of Valentine Borgia with the Princess of Naples, but met with so determined an opposition from the lady herself that he could hold out no hope of success. It is thought that Louis by no means constrained the Princess, whose indignation was great at the proposition of a marriage which she detested. Her answer is recorded to have been:* "That she would not accept for her husband a priest, and the son of a priest, a sanguinary fratricide, infamous by his birth, but still more so by his wicked actions."

After such a reply, nothing more could be urged, and the alliance was abandoned; another victim was therefore to be found for Borgia, and the daughter of the King of Navarre had the misfortune to be selected. To Mademoiselle d'Albret, therefore, Valentine Borgia was united, an enormous sum of money having been given by Pope Alexander, to secure the alliance. It was then that Valentine assumed the boastful title of Cæsar,† by which his degraded name is handed down to the execration of posterity. Louis XII. created him Duke de

* Tomasi.

† Cæsar Borgia did not assume the pompous name by which he is most known, till half his career was over; he was usually called Valentine. He was created Bishop of Valence in his youth, and made Duke of Valentinois by Louis XII. much later. He was called Cardinal Valentine, to distinguish him from other Cardinals of the house of Borgia. Machiavel calls him Il Duca Valentino, as do also Tomaso Tomasi, Paulus Jovius, and others; sometimes Il Cardinale Valentino, Il Valentino, and Il Duco Valentino.—Alex. Gordon.

Valentinois, and made him a Knight of the Order of St. Michael, thus firmly attaching to his interests two of the most powerful, and, at the same time, unworthy personages in Christendom, in the persons of Alexander VI. and his son.

CHAPTER XXVII.

MAGNANIMITY OF LOUIS—ANNE'S STRICTNESS—LEARNING OF THE TIME—HISTORIANS AND POETS—THE RED CROSS—SAYINGS—THE KING'S OPINION OF BOURBON—REPLIES TO ANNE—MAIDS OF HONOUR—THE QUEEN'S STATE—THE SPANISH AMBASSADOR—THE CORDELIÈRE—DISTINCTION.

THE failings of Louis may be attributed to the times in which he lived—a period when right and wrong were so strangely mixed that it required a mind superior to the age to select the proper course of action in the midst of false opinions, fanaticism, selfishness, and ambition. Louis XII. was not entirely free from all these follies and faults, but his many good qualities, exhibited so frequently during a reign that endeared him to his subjects, cannot but turn the balance in his favour. He is said to have taken the Emperor Trajan as his model, and to have made Cicero's "Treatise on Duties" the rule of his conduct. His memorable and magnanimous declaration at the outset of his career as Monarch, that "it did not become the King of France to revenge the injuries of the Duke of Orleans," in spite of the pride of place which the idea betrays, yet sprang from a noble and generous mind; nor were these celebrated words merely uttered for

effect, they expressed his real intention, and his after conduct proved his sincerity. Of few Kings of France are recorded so many excellent sayings; a volume might be filled with them, and all tend to show the goodness of his heart and his right judgment.

Louis XII. and his renowned and faithful friend and Minister, Cardinal George d'Amboise,* hold the same place in the history of the time as was accorded afterwards to Henry Quatre and Sully. The parallel is in favour of Louis in some respects, for he was superior to Henry in conjugal affection and in constancy to the wife he had chosen, however severe to her who had been forced upon him from political motives. The Court of Louis, also, was of a much more exalted character than that of the generous and careless Bearnais; and his respect for female excellence contributed, no doubt, as much to its superior purity as the example of Anne of Brittany, whose glory was to have altogether changed the manners of the time. It cannot be denied to the Regent Anne that she had previously commenced a reform which the powerlessness of the wife of Louis XI. rendered her unable to attempt, but it was to the young Queen of Louis that the merit is due of confirming the dignity and honour of her sex, and of illustrating her Court with the title of the purest in Christendom.

Of course, to effect so desirable a change as was accomplished, severity and strictness were at first requisite, and it can easily be imagined that the

* Amboise est à ses piés, ce ministre fidèle,
Qui *seul* aima la France et fut *seul* aimé d'elle.—*Henriade.*

courtiers, accustomed to unrestrained licence, would murmur at the check put upon their pleasures and their dissipation. Anne was considered harsh and hard in her decisions and exactions, and her advice to her husband often gave offence to those around him. More than once discontent at the resolution of the Queen was manifested, and some of his friends even ventured to complain to the King of her severity; but they were met by an answer which no historian of the time fails to commemorate: "We must allow much to a virtuous woman."*

Louis is accused of having given way too readily to the influence of his wife,† but it does not appear that in the most important instances he did so unduly: in that of the marriage of his daughter Claude, he firmly resisted her persuasions, although his affection for her caused him to disguise his resolution and allow the decision to appear forced upon him. His consideration for her superior mind and judgment was so great that he inclined always to her advice, and, if he rejected it, it was in a manner so gracious that her good sense induced her to be satisfied.

Before his time men of high birth were so little learned that it was customary to say "il ne convenoit pas à un gentilhomme de sçavoir bien lire et écrire." Alain Chartier, who laboured in vain to introduce learning, complains that in his day it was the general opinion that "noble homme ne doit sçavoir les lettres."‡ Louis had, therefore, a difficult task to polish the

* D'Argentré, &c. † De Thou. Mezeray.
‡ *Tablettes de France.* Dreux du Radier, &c., &c.

Court, which held knowledge in the contempt usual with ignorance; but he had inherited from his father, Charles of Orleans, a love of literature and of study, and he had resolved that the information contained in his library at Blois, carefully garnered and cherished, should not be confined to a chosen few, but scatter its riches throughout the country. Anne was ready to second him in these endeavours, and naturally fond of literature, she took advantages of the opportunities afforded by the similar tastes of her husband, and encouraged the genius and accomplishments of poets and historians as much as himself.

Louis was indulgent to the actors and authors of his time, who appear to have asserted that liberty of opinion, even then, which it is so difficult and so dangerous to repress; he is recorded to have read all the songs and seen all the farces which appeared, remarking that if he did not do so, he could not know what was going on in his kingdom; and, when aware of the impertinences said of him, he added, that the theatre need only cause uneasiness to those whose conduct was irregular, and the best plan was to be as correct as possible so as to give no hold to satirical writers; he left them entirely free as regarded himself, but he permitted nothing to be said or written which could give offence either to the Queen or to any female in the land.*

His affection for his subjects was real, and his desire to do them good sincere, however much he failed in some instances when ambition misled him. He was

* Duguet *De l'institution d'un Prince.* De Thou. Mezeray, &c.

called parsimonious, and was not offended at being considered so: occasionally the liberality of the Queen supplied his apparent defect of generosity towards his friends, which arose rather from confidence in their devotion than from mean calculations. He loved to enrich the people, and was accustomed to say, "Un bon pasteur ne sçaurait trop engraisser son troupeau."

Amongst the learned men encouraged and received at the Court of Louis and Anne were the historians Octavien de St. Gelais, Jean d'Authon, and Claude Seyssel, all of whom have given details of the King's life. Jean Marot, the father of Clement, was named *poet to the Queen;* Mellin de St. Gelais was celebrated for his classic learning and his verses; and of Jean Lemaire it has been said, by Marot, that he possessed *l'esprit d'Homère.* All these men by their works improved the language and taste of the period, and all were intimate friends of their Royal patrons.

The poet Sannazar found an asylum at the Court, and received a pension. Nanquier, Faustus, Andrélinus, and "*le sçavant Aléandre,*"* were protected and welcomed there.

One of the most striking instances of the forgiving temper of Louis XII. appears in the circumstance of his marking with a red cross the names of all his old enemies when he came to the Crown, not with a view to be revenged upon them, but to keep in his mind that they were more particularly to be the objects of his beneficence. His having marked them thus, caused a general panic in the Court, to dissipate which he had a

* Notes to Comines. *Tablettes, &c.*

medal struck with a red cross and the following inscription:—

* Rubra Crux salutis signum, albaque Francorum.

That he possessed ready wit and sarcasm, the numerous sayings of his, which have been treasured, prove.†

The Venetians having taken Verona from the Scaligeri, the assistance of Louis was asked to restore Benedict Scaliger; and, to induce him the more, it was represented that the antiquity of that house was great.

"I do not question its antiquity," replied the King, "but it is not with names, titles, and old parchments, that war is made."

After the League of Cambray against the Venetians, in 1508, the latter sent Ambassadors, to endeavour to detach Louis from the League, and gave him to understand that he did not act with prudence, in provoking a Power guided by so many wise men.

"Mons. l'Ambassadeur," was his reply, "all that you say is very fine, but I shall oppose so many madmen to your sages, that they will manage their matters very well. My madmen are folks that strike right and left, without listening to reason, when they are once engaged."

He had a great contempt for boasters; and some soldiers having vaunted of their wounds before him, he inquired who gave them?

"The enemies of your Majesty," was the reply.

* The red cross is a sign of salvation, as the white is the sign of France.

† *Paroles de Louis XII.* Dreux du Radier.

"Then they were braver than you," answered the King.

One of the braggarts, on this, replied, with a readiness which pleased him, "No; they only wounded us, but we killed them."

One of his officers used to boast of a wound received in his face, and claimed a reward for the services he had rendered. Louis was annoyed at his perseverance, knowing his real merits, and remarked to his friends one day, in speaking of the man, "It was his fault if he was wounded; he need only have fled without looking behind him."*

Louis was accustomed to say that "the middle classes and peasants were the prey of tyrants and soldiers, and that they, in return, were the prey of the Devil."

He had a sarcastic saying of ignorant churchmen, that "horses ran for benefices and asses caught them."

He was also witty upon the members of the law, remarking that "nothing was better in the conduct of life than to frequent good people, but advocates and *procureurs* were to be avoided, these sort of folks are accustomed to *stretch the skin with their teeth* in explaining the law according to their own interests."

Of Julius II. he said, when he heard that a Cardinal's hat had been given to an ignorant person: "The Pope acts fine farces, giving us the spectacle of monkeys in scarlet robes and asses in lions' skins;" and when the Pope threatened to excommunicate him, he said, "What, then, is cursing his charge?"

He was fond of repeating that "the Greeks did

* *Paroles.*

little, but made it great by their eloquence; the French much, but could not record it, and the Romans had both done great things and greatly recounted them."

He was scrupulous in religious matters, and once, a letter telling of a victory having been given him during mass, he would not read it till the solemnity was concluded.

The students of the Bazoche, who delighted in jests, and represented the satirical journals of our own day, had described the King as drinking out of a cup filled with molten gold, intending this as a sarcasm on his alleged stinginess. Louis was by no means angry at this, remarking that he "would rather be thought avaricious than extortionate."

When some of his friends remonstrated that he exposed himself too much at the battle of Aignadel,* he answered: "No, no, I am afraid of nothing; if anyone else is, let him stand behind me, and no harm will reach him."

One of his courtiers entreated of him to give him the possessions of a rich citizen of Orleans, which he said ought to be confiscated, because the citizen had been in arms against the King, when he was Duke of Orleans; to this he replied: "I was not then his Sovereign, now I am his father; consequently, he claims from me both pardon and protection."

All these sayings, preserved and repeated from mouth to mouth, are valuable, as proving in what estimation the Father of his people was held, both at the time and long after.

On some Gascons bragging of being gentlemen, he

* May 14, 1509.

observed: "One sword is enough between ten such gentlemen." And when, taking advantage of the liberty of speech and familiarity which he permitted in his intercourse with his army, two conceited officers, one a native of Bayonne and one of Limoges, were describing a battle, using military terms incorrectly, Louis observed quietly to the first:—

"Will you tell me, if you please, how they manage at Bayonne to have such delicate hams?" and, without waiting for his reply, turned to the other, saying, in allusion to a production for which the Limousin is famed: "And will you inform me what kind of ground produces the best chesnuts?"

That he was a good judge of character appeared by his opinion of Charles de Bourbon, who afterwards deserted from Francis I.

"I would rather," said he, "see in him more *openness* and gaiety, and that he should be less taciturn. Nothing is worse than still water."*

When pressed to marry his daughter Claude to the Prince, who was afterwards Charles V., he declared jocosely, but with meaning, that he would only have to do with the rats and mice of his own barns, meaning that the Princes of his own blood were safer alliances than those with foreigners, in which opinion Anne of Brittany did not coincide, and her opposition to her daughter's marriage with Francis of Valois, afterwards King, occasioned serious differences in the Council, and caused Louis so much annoyance, that on one occasion he rebuked the Queen with more wit than courtesy.

* *Paroles.*

"Would you wish," said he, "that an elder daughter of France should be *reduced* to become a mere little Duchess of Brittany, when the throne of France is open to her: this is preferring the pack-saddle of an ass to the trappings of a war-horse."*

Anne, on this, replied reproachfully: "But poor Claude *is lame*, and the Duke de Valois would not care for her."

"She has great merit," answered Louis, understanding the insinuation, "and if he is not always in love with her body, he will continue to love her mind and her disposition."

Anne, whose heart was set on the German alliance, would not give up the argument, and continued to represent the superior advantages of the marriage with Charles, on which Louis put an end to the contention by relating a fable, the application of which was at once made by the Queen, who was, for the time, silenced by it.

"At the creation of the world," said he, "horns were given to the doe as well as to the stag, but the doe, venturing to use those defences against her mate, they were taken from her."†

On another occasion, when the Queen importuned him relative to the Council of Pisa, he reprimanded her, saying: "that she was wrong to consider herself more enlightened than so many learned universities that had

* The point of this remark is lost in translation, as Louis was indulging in a pun on the Queen's name of Anne (Ane). "C'est preferer le bâst d'une *âne* au harnois d'un cheval."—*Paroles.*

† Mezeray. *Tablettes.* Ferron, &c.

approved of it: that her confessors ought to have instructed her that women had no voice in Church matters." An answer more arbitrary than convincing, but which Anne thought fit to abide by.

These little differences and contentions prove that the Queen had thorough liberty to express her opinion, and also that Louis maintained his own, and did not give way, as has been asserted, too much to *sa Bretonne*, as he was accustomed to call his wife.* In fact, every anecdote recorded and every circumstance shows the perfect understanding and confidence which existed between a husband and wife, united, as Royal personages seldom can be, in heart and feeling for each other. Unlike most Princes before and after him, Louis had no female favourites,† but bestowed the whole of his affection and attention on his wife, and allowed her so much power as Duchess of Brittany, that it was said, at the time, that it was difficult to decide which was the most powerful of the two, or which deserved most admiration.

Anne was greatly admired for her dignity and gracious manners by all foreigners who frequented the Court; and the immense number of young ladies of high rank with which she surrounded herself, both French and Bretonnes, attracted the commendations of all who were admitted, by the grace and modesty which the example of the Queen encouraged.‡

* "Dans ses goguettes," says Brantôme.

† Seyssel: who says, "Depuis qu'il l'a epousée l'a tousjours tant et si grandement aimée, estimée et cherie qu'il a en elle mis et deposé tous ses plaisirs et tous ses delices."

‡ Hilarion de la Coste: *Eloge*,

Anne's ladies were the first who were called Maids of Honour to the Queen, and this title was kept up till 1673, when that of Ladies of the Palace was substituted.*

All these ladies were under the Queen's especial care, and great was the anxiety of parents that their daughters should be admitted of this favoured band, which as Anne grew older and became more experienced, and owing to the superior mind and conduct of the present King to that of his young predecessor, became every year more and more illustrious for virtue and purity.† Louis was very proud of this model Court, and delighted to exhibit it to all the foreign Ambassadors who visited him: he was vain also of the elegant manners of the Queen, who understood how to do the honours of her position with singular correctness. It thus became the custom—one never before regularly introduced—that whatever dignitary had audience of the King, was immediately afterwards introduced separately to the Queen, a habit which was kept up for several centuries at the Court of France, where not only the Queen, but the Dauphin and Princes of the Blood, gave distinct audiences.‡

Anne was quite aware of her advantages, and never deviated from the State which she considered her due: she possessed a pardonable vanity, which induced her to take pleasure in her successes, and nothing pleased her more than creating an effect on the minds of those to whose complimentary harangues she replied. She was

* Dreux du Radier. † *Dames Illustres.*

‡ Dreux du Radier. Brantôme.

fond of showing her learning, and in order to please the more, and appear acquainted with the languages of the foreign personages whom she had to address, she loved to introduce phrases in their respective tongues, as if such were familiar to her. A comic incident, illustrative of this habit of hers, is related by Brantôme, and it, at the same time, shows the joyous character of her husband.

The Chevalier d'Honneur of the Queen, Grignaux, was a man of accomplishments, and, it would appear, somewhat too facetious to be prudent. Anne, with whom he was a favourite, was accustomed to consult him when she wished to introduce into her speeches foreign terms and sentences, and studied with him the proper pronunciation before she ventured on their use. On one occasion, when she was to reply to the Spanish Ambassador, she asked Grignaux for a few appropriate words, which might be complimentary to the Grandee. The Chevalier, probably aware that he was safe in the King's fondness for a joke, taught her, with much gravity, a sentence which, if delivered, would have sounded in the ears of the Spaniard anything but graceful, for it was more appropriate to the Lavapiés of Madrid than to Court circles. Anne was delighted with her acquisition, and had learnt the exact pronunciation of the words which she proposed to herself to address the next day to the Ambassador.

When the time came, however, Grignaux hastened to the King, and informed him of the daring absurdity he had been guilty of. Louis was in convulsions of

laughter at the idea, and came to the Queen still under the influence of his mirth to beg her to suppress the exhibition of her ill-timed learning. Anne was excessively mortified and angry at the discovery of the trick played her, and it required all the eloquence of her husband to induce her to forgive the penitent Chevalier. Louis, who admired her real talents, and was remarkably frank and honest in his nature, probably had allowed this want of respect in her gentleman as a rebuke to the vanity which led her to appear more learned than she was, considering that it was equally dignified in her to confine herself to the language she really understood without assuming an accomplishment she did not possess;* as, however, her object was to please others as much as to be admired herself, there was but little blame attached to the Queen and the liberty permitted to her attendant is one of the proofs of want of delicacy, to remedy which her efforts were so continual.

That considerable coarseness was allowed and even applauded in those days, the dramatic representations in vogue are sufficient to prove,† and it makes the struggle of Anne against the age in which she lived the more meritorious and remarkable.

At what exact period Anne instituted her celebrated order of the *Cordelière* it is difficult to decide, but it was probably soon after her second marriage, when she formed her Court of ladies. The distinction of being admitted into this order was the greater that no lady was permitted to become a member whose character was not above the smallest suspicion, and she was

* Dreux du Radier. † Dulaure's *Paris*.

looked upon as illustrious who could wear the badge of stainless purity which the Queen had bestowed.*

* No vestige remains of this order, for which François Premier and his Court had probably little respect, except the Cordelière, which it was long the custom for widows to wear round their escutcheons. This Cordelière, or rope, it is which encircles the arms of Anne of Brittany, and forms a part of the ornament which appears on the cover of this volume. Her emblem was an Ermine, and the legend "A ma Vie," on the scroll beneath it, is symbolical of feminine purity. Montfaucon, in his Latin version of the "Monuments de la Monarchie Française," translates the motto, "In Vitâ ma," "En ma vie."

CHAPTER XXVIII.

PREPARATIONS FOR THE QUEEN'S ENTRY INTO PARIS—THE KING'S LETTER—ST. DENIS—THE PROCESSION—THE HEART OF PARIS—MYSTÈRES—TABLE DE MARBRE.

It was most likely the scarcity of money, at the time when the Italian expeditions occasioned such an enormous outlay, which prevented the ceremony of Queen Anne's public entry into Paris from taking place until the year 1504, for already, in 1501, consultations were held by the citizens and dignitaries of the State respecting the preparations for that solemnity.

On the 5th of January, 1501, there was a great meeting to consider what gift was proper to offer to the Queen, and "pour le plus honnestement et joyeusement que faire se pourra la recevoir à son entrée."*

After much consultation, it was agreed that the sum of five thousand livres tournois should be offered in such manner as the Seigneur de Clerieux, Governor of Paris, the Prevosts des Marchands et Echevins, and others, should think fit. Another meeting was held on the 11th, to decide who should bear the *poisle*, or canopy, over her head, it being the custom that certain members of the guild of certain trades should have that

* *Le Céremonial François.* Par Theodore Godefroy. 1649.

honour, but, although everything seems to have been arranged in due form, the entry was put off till, in 1504, Louis sent a message announcing his pleasure that it should positively take place. The message is thus conceived :—

"Dear and well-beloved,—Our very dear and well-beloved Consort the Queen has the intention shortly (en bref) to make her entrance into our good city of Paris, and, since we desire with all our heart that she should be by you received and welcomed in the most joyous and honourable manner possible, we have thought fit to apprise you of the same, in order that you may do your part to show her such respect as you would show to our own person, and in so doing you will act in a way to cause us great pleasure, which we shall hold in memory when occasion shall require.

"May the Lord have you in his keeping.

"Given at Fontainebleau, 30th Oct.,

(Signed) "LOUIS

"DE SAUSSAYE."

On this, it was unanimously agreed that the largest gift should be offered to Queen Anne that had ever before been presented, "for the great and laudable virtues she possesses, and in order to *captivate* her benevolence and grace." Ten thousand livres tournois are now named as the sum to be given, the former amount, of only five thousand, being probably thought somewhat penurious; added to which, "grands et beaux Mystères" were commanded, such as should dazzle her with their splendour, and outdo all that had been done before, at her first entrance, as wife of Charles VIII.

It was apparently at night that Anne, at length, blessed the sight of the expectant people of Paris, since it is ordered that, from the gate of St. Denis to Nôtre Dame, at every house in the street through which the Queen should pass, at the windows of the first story, a lighted torch should be placed in her honour, and to give light to the procession. It was also concluded that she should be invited to dine at the Hotel de Ville, and that "no expense should be spared" to entertain her.

Amongst the heterogeneous orders given, is one, that twelve or fifteen houses, along the route, shall be prepared with every accommodation, in case the Queen, or any of her ladies, should require to rest and take refreshment.

Eighty or a hundred flambeaux (fallots) were ordered to be placed at the doors of the houses between Nôtre Dame and the Palace, "pour éclairer ladite Dame à aller à Nôtre Dame," as well as for her return to sup at the Palace.

She was crowned, *for the second time*, at St. Denis, on the 18th of November, by Cardinal d'Amboise, Legate in France, previously to the grand entry; and so great was the State on this occasion, that it seems to have taken several days for her to arrive at Paris, for on the 19th she slept at La Chapelle, and on the 20th the municipal authorities met her, some dressed in robes of *velvet* "cramoysi et tanné," and others in *satin* of the same colours. "Sans rien y épargner."*

All the trades appear to have vied with each other to

* *Ceremonial.*

make themselves gay in honour of the occasion, and their brilliant appearance has been carefully recorded.*

The drapers, to the number of seventy, appeared in robes of cloth "d'ecarlate brune sur couleur de violette de mars," which was, no doubt, something singularly striking conceived for the purpose.

Of the grocers, four wore robes "de damas *pers* et bleu et tanne," and eighty of less note in the last colour.

The furriers had damask dresses of "gris cendré;" the mercers, "satin tanné brun;" the money-changers were similarly attired, and the goldsmiths wore blue damask, being four masters and twelve men.

Ten master-merchants were appointed to hold the canopy, and when all this goodly company arrived at La Chapelle, the Queen received and heard their address, replying very graciously, and thanking them, saying, that if they required anything of the King, she would be their advocate, and do all she could for the city. All the bands had dismounted from the horses on which they rode, and Anne requested of the Provost that they should resume their saddles and take their posts, as she should see them file before her with great pleasure, which was done much to her satisfaction.

After the officers of the Châtelet, of Finance and of Justice, had paid her their respects at the door of the Chapelle, where, it seems, she stood all the time, the Queen at length *mounted her litter* and arrived at the gate of St. Denis, where a mystery of a *Great Heart* was exhibited, representing the *Heart of Paris* in which

* *Ceremonial.*

were two personages, Loyauté and Honneur. Three personages held the said *Heart*—Justice, Clergy, and Commun.

"Et y avoit un Acteur qui disoit ce qu'ensuit:

Tout noble cœur en qui gist féauté
Doit a sa Dame Honneur et Loyauté
Parquoy Paris la Cité capitale
Ouvre son cœur d'un amour cordiale
Pour recevoir la noble Royauté:
Ce cœur humain excellent en beauté
Veut rejouir la noble Majesté
De sa Dame Princesse principale
Obeissant d'une amour filiale;
Car noble cœur en qui gist féauté
Doit à sa Dame Honneur et Loyauté
Par Justice est mu en authorité
Clergy le tient en vray tranquillité
Et le Commun met sa puissance totale
Le soustenir de volunté Royale:
Tout noble cœur en qui gist féauté
Doit à sa Dame Honneur et Loyauté.

Some of the devices exhibited at the different fountains of Paris as the procession moved on are remarkable for great *naïveté*, and at every station the canopy changed its bearers and was carried on to fresh honours. "Devant la Trinité," says the chronicler, "y avait un Mystère de le Transfiguration et autres."

Also at the old gate of St. Denis was a mystery of *the five Annes of the Old Testament*, with whom is associated "Anne noble Reine de France pour les vertus et biens qui sont en elles," and there was "*a person to declare those things*" which follow:

Cinq Dames sont au Saint Escript trouvées
Nommées Annes, très juste esprouvées

Helcazar prit l'une en mariage
Dont fust produit Samuel l'enfant sage
La deuxième femme du vieil Tobie
De charité et de pieté remplie,
La troisième fut mère de Sara
Tobie le jeune par grace l'epousa
La 4me Prophetesse fut dite
Car le venue de Christ avoit predite
La 5me fut mère de Marie
Vierge pucelle que le doux faut de vie
Par grace Dieu enfanta dignement,
Ces cinq Dames ont vertueusement
Durant leur temps regnés sans aucune doute
Avec elles la sixième ou adjouste
C'est Dame Anne noble Reyne de France
Qui son people preserve de souffrance.

After listening to all these tedious addresses, considered, however, at the time, models of elegance, and many of them written by Pierre Gringore, the poet,* the Queen was conducted into the Church of Nôtre Dame, received by the Bishop of Paris and his suite, and led to the choir, where she said prayers, and then, re-entering her litter, repaired to the Palais de Justice, to partake of the sumptuous repast prepared for her. She was there seated at the famous *Table de Marbre*, together with all the Princesses and great ladies who accompanied her, and the brilliant crowd of lords and gentlemen who formed her suite.

On leaving Paris and returning to Touraine, where she, with the King, inhabited, by turns, the Castles of

* Pierre Gringore, dit Vaudemont, had the title of "Heraud d'Armes du Duc de Lorraine." He is the same made known to Parisian novel readers by Victor Hugo's famous romance of *Nôtre Dame de Paris*. The name is sometimes written Gringoire. His satires on the clergy of Rome are extraordinary for their freedom; those on Pope Julius the Second are startling.—See Dulaure's *Paris*.

Loches, Blois, and Amboise, Anne was received with all the State imaginable: at the latter town, the expense of her reception is stated to have amounted to *one hundred and thirty-three livres four sous and eight deniers.**

* Ballanger's *Touraine, Ancienne et Moderne.*

CHAPTER XXIX.

SUCCESS—LUDOVICO IL MORO—LOCHES—DUNGEON—A CAPTIVE'S OCCUPATION—INSCRIPTIONS—THE CHAPEL AND THE TOMB—THE CASTLE.

THOUGH now at the height of his ambition and his love, Louis XII., sighing for more conquests, resolved to quit all the pleasures of Blois to dare again the dangers from which he had so narrowly escaped in the first Italian expedition, when he had accompanied King Charles. Fleuranges, in his curious and amusing memoirs,* says: "King Louis set out from Blois, accompanied by Queen Anne, Duchess of Brittany, his second wife, and M. d'Angoulême, as far as Lyons, on the Rhone, having heard before his departure of the revolt of those of Genoa against him; he therefore proposed to reinforce his army, and to pass that way in taking his journey to his duchy of Milan."

All had gone well with Louis hitherto in Italy: the successes of his generals were as rapid as those of Charles had been, and the tyrant, Ludovico il Moro, had experienced a great reverse of fortune, while the treacherous and unscrupulous Borgias gained all they

* *Mémoires de Fleuranges*: "Le Jeune Avantureux."

desired through their new ally. The most exulting tidings greeted the King and his bride on their arrival at Lyons, and the joy of Louis knew no bounds. He would not be withheld by the entreaties of Anne from joining his army for further conquests, and she saw him depart with fear and regret, accompanying him, however, to Grenoble, where he quitted her, leaving behind one who, young as he was, saw sorrowfully his "hopes of gilded spurs" put aside for the present. This was the youthful François, called Monsieur d'Angoulême, who was under the Queen's care, and had desired to be taken to the Italian wars, together with a chivalric band of young men, as ardent as himself, who all achieved fame in their turn. Anne, her heart full of anxiety, was left to visit shrines and offer up prayers for the safety of her husband, as she had done before for the enterprising Charles, who, having returned to her, escaped from real dangers, had found his fate so unexpectedly in the midst of peace and rejoicing.

During the years of contention and varied fortune, which accompanied the career of Louis in Italy, Anne more than once made the journey between Blois and Lyons to welcome him back or to see him depart again. She was there when, after the first loss of Naples, his flight, return, success, and final ruin, Ludovico il Moro, at length the victim of the treachery of his own people, was brought a prisoner to the triumphant Louis,* whose

* Bembo says that he was taken "en habit de fourrageur, monté sur une haridelle," but Guicciardini, Jovius, and Feron all say he was in the ranks, in the habit of a private soldier. Others say he was disguised as a Cordelier. He was taken first to the Castle of Novara as a prisoner.

rigour to his detested and faithless enemy is one of the least brilliant phases of his career. Ludovico arrived in the middle of the day, and all the people of Lyons came out to gaze upon him. That Ludovico deserved little lenity from his victor is true, but so fearful a vengeance as was indulged in towards him would better have suited the vindictive and evil-hearted Louis XI. than the chivalrous successor of his son; the dungeons of Loches had been well peopled in the time of the tyrant who lived but to inflict punishment; but of those, the remains of which still thrill the traveller's heart with horror at the grim old Castle in Touraine, none is so much kept in memory as that in which il Moro was kept confined (for ten years) till death released him; the iron cage, into which he was driven to sleep each wretched night, has disappeared, but the dim and dismal prison, forty steps beneath the ground level of the great tower of Loches keeps all its identity and has still the power to harrow up the feelings of the appalled beholder. A French author,* desirous to prove that the imprisonment of Ludovico was not so rigorous as has been represented, thus describes the dungeon, but the author of these memoirs has more than once visited the spot, and, under any circumstances, can see no cause to doubt the misery of the captivity in so hideous a spot.†

"It exists in a lower chamber of the Castle, to which it is necessary to descend by thirty or forty steps. It

* M. Dreux du Radier. *Tablettes.*

† See in a "*Summer amongst the Bocages and the Vines,*" a visit to Loches; also a description of the Castle by the same hand, published in "*Household Words*" under the title of "Blind Sightseeing."

is vaulted and has a small chimney at the side of the door, and a *garde-robe* (a cavern rather) at the opposite extremity. It is lighted only by a window, which receives the light from above"—the historian omits to notice that it enters by a narrow window, the walls of which are eight feet thick, and between the outer air and the dungeon what light there is is three times interrupted by thick iron bars—" the vault is adorned by a running pattern of flowers, which have probably been retouched, as well as, near the centre, arabesque letters which form the name of Sforza."

When all this is exhibited to strangers by the guide to the Castle, he holds up a candle through the darkness, and it is with difficulty that anything can be distinguished in the gloom. If Ludovico really executed the arabesques, he must have done so by the aid of torch-light.

As Louis and Anne resided much at Loches,—and, by the remains of the Queen, in her oratory still shown, that Castle evidently was a favourite place of abode with them,—their unfortunate though guilty enemy must have been continually reminded of the triumph of the King, when the sound of revelry at splendid tournaments and feasts may have reached his listening ear even through the thick walls of his gloomy dungeon beneath the pavement of the Castle court.*

It is, however, said that, after Ludovico had remained

* The brother of Ludovico, Cardinal Ascanio, was soon after also brought to France, and confined in the Tower of Bourges; but he was treated with more lenity, and the Cardinal d'Amboise paid him a friendly visit there.—Bembo.

some time in this lower dungeon, his captivity was rendered more endurable, and he was permitted to have better apartments. Whether the compassion of the Queen had anything to do with this leniency is not certain, but it is by no means unlikely that her tender heart induced her to intercede with her husband in his favour.

There is a tradition on the spot of Louis having had the dungeon of Sforza prepared for him before he set out on the first Italian expedition after his marriage, and that when the Queen inquired for whom it was got ready, Louis replied, smiling, that "she would soon know." The prisoner of la Trimouïlle was accordingly brought to the Castle, and this circumstance gives colour to the supposition of Anne's having interfered in his favour.

That the vanquished tyrant endeavoured to beguile his tedious time by ornamenting his chamber is probable: opposite the dim window can still be traced on the wall, deeply cut, a kind of sun-dial, by which he doubtless counted his unhappy hours, and above the chimney is a dim figure supposed to represent himself fully armed, the costume being certainly of the time: his visor is lowered, and he stands between two cannons.

Amongst the fragments of inscriptions on the walls could once be traced letters like the following;* too much effaced to complete the meaning intended:—

Celui qui n'est pas contan . . .
A fortune je ne pas . . .
Plaindre me dont par . . .

* The author saw these in her visit to Loches, but found it impossible to decipher them.

These are thought to have been traced by the hand of il Moro. But if the verses had been his, they would more likely have been in Italian than in French; there was no want of prisoners at that day, and another wretched captive might have expressed himself thus :—

Oui: ne crains fort. je ne et pas bien sahnté? . . .

which line is supposed to be addressed to his victor Louis.

In the other apartments* supposed to have been inhabited by him after his removal from underground, are Latin mottoes and other verses. Amongst them these—

Je . m'en . repens . mais . cela . ne . vault . rien .
Car . j'ai . voulu . joindre . mon . cœur . au . tien .
Pour . mon . plaisir . et . tu . lui . fais . la . guerre .
Se . ne . te . dois . revoir . plus . jamais . plus . requerre .
Quand . voulente . ne . ne . faire . aucien . bien .
Trop . de . peine . eux . à . trouver . le . moyen .
Parler . à . toi . chercher . tou . entretien .
Que . j'ai . trouvé . difficile . à . conquerre .

These lines seem rather remembered love verses than the outpourings of the mind of such a man as Ludovico, as are also the following, which are evidently a "*complainte*," perhaps the remains of some troubadour rhyme; they are not without pathos :—

Quand mort m'avertit qui je puis mourir,
Et secourir on ne me veut, mais me faire rudesse,
Et de liesser et bannir que dois je plus quérir,
Ja n'est besoin, madame, requerir pour mourir,
Ne pour chasser avoir autre maitresse.

* Mahiet de la Chesneraye. See *Touraine, Ancienne et Moderne.*

Had such lines been found graven on the walls of the dungeon of Bourges, they might have been attributed to the then captive lover of the heiress of Brittany, whose own sufferings had not, in the case of this foe, taught him the humanity which others had experienced at his hands.

The "Oratoire d'Anne de Bretagne," in the Castle of Loches, is still preserved in remarkable freshness, considering all the changes that have transformed the place since her time. It is shown to strangers as the next precious remains after the beautiful tomb and statue of Agnes Sorel, inimitable in its kind. The Chapel is a lofty chamber, vaulted, with the terminations of the arches finely sculptured; spots of ermine painted on porcelain incrust the walls. The door of entrance is exquisitely carved, the Cordelière twisting amongst the sculptured foliage that surmounts it, and hanging in festoons and with depending tassels on each side; over the fire-place is an ornament of the Cordelière, knotted and twisted, and on the wall at the back of the altar a series of the same cognisances form an involved pattern that has the effect of a Moorish inscription; the altar canopy is delicately carved, but the statues are gone, nor is there any shield or device left, though doubtless the ermine, and its motto, *A ma vie*, were sculptured in many places; but these exist no longer, nor that other motto of the Duchy of Brittany, that expressed the purity of the "gente" little animal's snowy coat: "Better die than receive a stain."

The altar itself is supported by carved pillars, twisted, with flowery wreaths between, and the Cordelière sur-

rounding all. The windows, once resplendent with stained glass, exhibit still a few panes, on which the celebrated motto, "*Potius mori quam fœdari*," may be partially traced.*

This grand and gloomy ruin of Loches, once so glorious and so triumphant, is the most remarkable of its kind in France, and holds within its walls the record of a series of reigns of mighty Monarchs, whose splendours and whose cruelties are passed away. So enormous was it that no less than twelve hundred men could be accommodated within its walls, the thickness of which is from six to eight feet in the dungeons, where the false and ambitious Cardinal Balue, the honest and equitable historian Comines, and the ruthless, but bold and courageous tyrant, Sforza, by turns, suffered captivity. The memory of two charming women redeem its horrors, for here are the tomb of the lovely Agnes, and the Oratory of the virtuous Anne.

* The author of "*La Touraine, Ancienne et Moderne*" (1845,) speaks of the Cordelière, still to be traced in the dungeon of Ludovico, at Loches. If so, it is so nearly effaced as to be with difficulty recognised. This ornament of the Cordelière has occupied the attention of antiquaries, to decide whether it was used *before* the time of Anne by *widows*, or only adopted after in imitation of her. The curious house in Tours, generally called the House of Tristan l'Hermite, is remarkable for bearing this ornament, formed exactly like those at Loches, for which reason it has been thought that the Queen built or rebuilt it. Certain it is that it is an ornament frequently repeated in buildings of the fifteenth century, but whether peculiar to Anne cannot be now decided.

CHAPTER XXX.

SICKNESS OF LOUIS—CLAUDE DE FRANCE—THE ARCHDUKE PHILIP—THE RECEPTION—CEREMONIES—THE ARCHDUCHESS—THE QUEEN—SWEETMEATS—SERIOUS MATTERS—HOLLOW FRIENDSHIP.

ANNE had been the wife of Louis little more than a year, when, after a triumphant return to Blois, the King was suddenly seized with an epidemic, which had already driven her from that place to Romorantin, during his absence in the Milanese. She was once more in danger of losing the high position she had regained, and independently of the love she bore her husband, her fears were extreme for herself as well as for him. Night and day she sat by his sick bed, permitting no one to nurse him but herself, and, with ceaseless care, attended on him with a heart trembling at every breath he drew. Her affection was rewarded and her fears for herself dispelled by the recovery of the King; and on the birth of a daughter, the Princess Claude,* after-

* Anne had a peculiar devotion to Sainte Claude, and visited her shrine in Franche Comté when going with Louis the first time to Lyons. She intended to be confined at Blois, but a contagious disease obliged her to go to Romorantin, where she had a child who died. The King is said to have come post from Italy to attend her.—Mezeray.

wards endeared to the French nation by her virtues, a happy promise opened to her, never to be fulfilled, in her sons, both those she had having been snatched away in infancy, and another Princess, Renée, who became Duchess of Ferrara, came to mock her anxious desire for an heir once again.

Claude de France, singularly beloved by both her parents from the first, was but a few months old when Louis, sufficiently recovered to mount his horse, was restlessly impatient to return to the Milanese; but when he arrived, with the Queen, at Lyons, he was diverted from his object, chiefly, perhaps, by her persuasions, and remained there in order to receive the visit of two important personages, whose alliance, by means of her infant daughter, Anne was most anxious to secure.

Whether she really considered such a marriage politic for France, or that she was actuated by a wish to repair to the Emperor Maximilian the twofold wrong he had suffered through her, the Queen never could be induced to relinquish her desire that Claude should become the wife of the grandson of her former suitor; that Prince who became, in the course of time, the celebrated rival of Francis I., as Charles V. of Spain.

It has been asserted that a personal enmity towards Louise de Savoye, mother of Duke François of Angoulême, the heir-presumptive, caused Anne to oppose his union so violently with Claude. Perhaps the happiness of her amiable child, would have been as much consulted in one case as in the other; but certain it is that it was by no means secured by her becoming Queen of France, as in the end she did.

The King and Queen returned from Lyons to Blois together, in order to receive with due ceremony the guests to whom they wished to pay peculiar honour. A deputation of persons of the highest rank was sent to meet and conduct the Archduke Philip of Austria and his wife, Juana of Castile, then in the full bloom of happiness and youth, afterwards to be the "story" of Europe and of history, as Juana la Loca, mad for grief from the loss of her young and adored husband. Their son, then Duke of Luxembourg, to be known to fame hereafter as the Emperor Charles V., was to be affianced to the infant Claude, and his parents' object, in the visit, was to arrange the marriage.

On the 7th of December, 1501, the illustrious travellers were conducted from Saint Dyé to Blois. The historian of the Castle thus describes their entry.* And some of the particulars of their entertainment are curiously characteristic of the time.

The Princess Juana was mounted on a beautiful palfrey, covered entirely with housings of crimson velvet. The Duchess of Vendôme, who had met her on the frontiers of the kingdom, and had accompanied her all the way, followed her with all her train of ladies, mounted on palfreys covered with black velvet.

More than six hundred horses carried litters,† or drew laden waggons belonging to the suite of the Prince. It was night when this immense *cortège* entered the town of Blois, and along the steep street which led to the Castle, every house was lighted with torches of yellow wax, fixed against the wall.

* See M. de Saussaye. † *Hist. de Blois.*—Touchard-Lafosse.

There was evidently some confusion in the order of the procession, owing to the press of inquisitive spectators, for the Archduke and his lady were separated by the crowd, and Philip arrived first, attended by a double range of archers of the Royal Guard, superbly dressed in gilded armour; between two rows of Swiss Guards, he mounted the grand staircase—a model of beauty in its kind, finished by Francis I., whose salamander is placed in every nook and corner of the building.

At the top of the staircase four hundred more archers conducted Philippe through the range of apartments, where the King was *seated near the chimney*, in a saloon splendidly hung with rich* tapestry. His chair of State was ornamented with fine and elaborate carving, such as may still be seen, with the arms of France and Brittany united, on *chaires à dorserets*, in the precious collection at the Hotel de Cluny, in Paris, and this seat was placed on a raised floor, covered with a carpet of that kind called *velu*, which must have resembled the soft velvet carpets of the present day.

Near the King stood the young Count d'Angoulême, destined to rival the son of the Archduke, and the famous Cardinal d'Amboise, the friend and favourite of Louis, whom Alexander VI. had just then named Legate *à latere* in the kingdom of France. M. de Brienne was the grand master of the ceremonies, who introduced the Archduke to his Royal host.

* The tapestry of the time was much prized, and had been so since the middle of the previous century, when Charles V. of France had caused tapestry of great value to be made for his Palace of St. Paul.—*Hist. de Blois.*

"When," says the chronicler,* "the Archduke entered the saloon, M. de Brienne, taking off his cap, said, 'Sire, here is Monsieur the Archduke;' to which Louis replied, smiling, 'There is a handsome Prince.' Philip made three low reverences before he reached the King, who had, at the first bow, risen and advanced, *à petits pas*, towards him; at the second he took off his cap, and, at the third, he embraced him. They then spoke several words to each other in a low voice. After the first embrace, the King resumed his cap, but the Archduke remained uncovered, on which the King requested him to replace his hat, which he declined, saying it was not becoming in him."

In the meantime, the Archduchess had arrived, and been properly received by the ladies of rank appointed, who conducted her to the King's chamber, asking her if it was her pleasure to bestow a kiss upon him. On this, she requested permission to do so of the Bishop of Cordova, who granted it. When she entered the room the King instantly left the Archduke, with the nobles who surrounded him, and advanced to the threshold to meet her, so that she had only time to make two very low curtseys. The King, bareheaded, kissed her, and taking her arm placed it under his own, and led her the length of the chamber, to the chair appointed for her, close to the Archduke and Monsieur d'Angoulême, whom she kissed. Then said the King, smiling, "Madame, I know very well that you ladies desire nothing better than to be alone together; go, I pray, and see the Queen, and leave us men to ourselves."

* M. de la Saussaye.

When the Archduchess arrived at the Queen's apartment, she was sitting in her chair by the chimney. As soon as she saw Juana de Castile she rose, and the said lady did her honour; but only by bowing the knee, while Madame de Bourbon, who held her arm, curtseyed to the ground. The Queen then walked towards her two or three paces, and kissed and welcomed her with great warmth, assuring her that her coming gave her extreme satisfaction. Standing round the carpet on which was the Queen's chair were the Duchess d'Orleans and the Countess d'Angoulême, mother of the heir presumptive, and a little further back were Mademoiselle de Foix and the Countess de Dunois. Ranged all along the sides of the chamber were the ladies of honour. The Archduchess kissed all the above-named four ladies but not the rest, because Madame de Bourbon prevented her, "for she would never have done, there were so many." She then passed before the Queen, bowing again, and so went on to her own chamber. Here she was waited upon with great ceremony by a deputation bearing sweetmeats.

One of the King's *maîtres d'hotel* walked first, then six little pages dressed in yellow damask, bordered with crimson velvet, each holding a golden chandelier containing a taper of virgin wax; then came Madame de Bourbon, carrying a large golden box full of several other boxes of sweetmeats. Then followed Madame d'Angoulême, carrying another box full of napkins. Then Madame de Nevers, with a golden box full of knives *and forks which had golden handles.** Then the

* See Godefroy. Knives, forks, and spoons of the period may still

Duchess de Valentinois and Mademoiselle de Foix, holding each a comfit box in her hand, filled with divers comfits, *one of which was marvellously fine*, of silver gilt, and so long that it reached from the hand to the ground. Afterwards came five or six gentlemen holding each two golden pots quite full of sweetmeats, and then came the *Queen's apothecary*, who held in his hands a golden candlestick with a wax taper.

This latter personage, like him who attended on Sancho, should have exercised a similar command over the shoal of sweet things offered to the young Archduchess after her journey. He, however, appears only to have stood at the door, while all the bonbons were placed by the ladies on buffets and *on the bed*.

The Archduke appears to have had a more substantial supper served up to him, of which he partook with the Duke de Nevers, and the Comte de Ligny, the King abstaining, as he was on a diet of bread and water, in consequence of keeping the fast of Nôtre-Dame des Avents.

After the ceremony of the sweetmeats, which bears much of an Eastern character, probably studied by the Queen in order to suit the Oriental habits of her Spanish guest, a new "solemnity" took place in providing the

be seen in the collection of the Hotel de Cluny, at Paris, where is a knife the handle of which represents the sacrifice of Abraham, and is a chef-d'œuvre of workmanship; several spoons of ivory, carved in open work, and forks *with two prongs*. *Forty-three* are mentioned amongst the treasures of Charles the Wise, described as being of gold and enriched with jewels; but forks were not in general use, and were considered articles of luxury; in the time of Henry VIII. in England, they were even less used, fops returned from abroad being called "fork-eating travellers" by the early dramatists.

Archduchess with the conveniences for her *coucher*. Amongst other things *réchauffoires* are named as being brought by obedient valets, together with warming-pans and other necessaries, all of silver. One feature in this inventory is remarkable: a large coffer covered with velvet, was brought by the "*tapissiers*" of the Castle, which contained "four mirrors framed in silver gilt, three vessels to hold sponges and for washing; three candlesticks *(à queue)* for tapers. Three pairs of brushes *(vergettes)* the handles of which were covered with crimson velvet, three cases also covered with velvet, full of combs; a cloth for the feet at the toilette table made of *toilette de Holland*, and coverings for the table also."

For five days these illustrious guests stayed at Blois, in the midst of fêtes and entertainments of all sorts; but, while the Queen amused the ladies, her husband and the Archduke discoursed* of weighty matters relative to their future alliance. Louis consented to provide a large sum to enable Maximilian to carry on war against the Turks, and to pay him besides for his investment of the duchy of Milan; a mere ceremony as far as the Emperor was concerned, as Louis claimed it as his right, which this payment threw a doubt on. The contract of marriage between Claude and Charles was drawn out; a great dower was promised by Louis, who engaged himself "de la vêtir et enjouaillir comme à la fille de France appartenoit."†

The amusements of the ladies were, in effect, more innocent than the serious conferences of the men, for

* "Des discours beaux et grands." † Tailhé *Hist.*

nothing could be less politic than the confidence which Louis reposed in Maximilian, the agreement to the treaty of Trent, ratified at Blois, being one of the least prudent actions which the famous Cardinal d'Amboise ever engaged in; and one which brought into some disregard the King's customary expression, when recommended to interfere in his own affairs, "*Laisses faire à Georges.*"

The same day on which the ratification of the treaty took place, the Archduke and his Duchess took leave of the French Court with immense demonstrations of friendliness and goodwill. They were highly delighted with their reception and success, and were doubtless welcomed by the astute Ferdinand of Spain, accordingly, who was but two well aware of the advantages gained over the unsuspicious and too generous Louis and his incautious Ministry.

Philip might himself have been sincere, but neither Ferdinand nor Maximilian were so, as both proved two years after, when they disclaimed the engagements entered into by the Archduke, declaring that he had exceeded his powers. Nevertheless, in 1504, Louis, although deceived and shocked, was induced to sign a truce for three years, still placing his trust in Princes whom he had every reason to believe were betraying him.

CHAPTER XXXI.

UNPOPULARITY—PRUDENT MEASURES—DE GIÉ'S ZEAL—THE QUEEN'S RESENTMENT — REACTION — LE VERGER — VENGEANCE — PAINFUL SCENE.

At length the whole nation lost patience, and general discontent ensued, so much so that Louis, for the first time, found himself unpopular, and his conduct called in question. Anne's attachment to the interests of Maximilian was openly blamed, and the marriage of the Princess Claude, with the Duke of Luxembourg, violently opposed.

All these vexations had their effect on Louis, whose health and spirits gave way, and he was seized with a sudden and alarming illness, while staying at the Château de Madon, not far from Blois, on the left bank of the Loire. Again Anne devoted herself to attend to him, and nursed him with the same tenderness and assiduity as before. But having been assured that there was no hope of his life, and knowing that the interests of her Duchy entirely depended on her, her thoughts and duties were painfully divided between her love for her husband and the people for whose welfare she was always jealous and energetic.

It was on the occasion of this illness of Louis, that a circumstance occurred which is always much dwelt upon by historians, and has sometimes been cited as a proof of a vindictive disposition on the part of Anne, and of less unselfish affection than all the rest of her actions proved. Probably some particulars of the affair are lost, and, consequently, her motives and their prudence can be less appreciated. There was, just at this moment, a prejudice against her in France, as she was supposed to have unduly exercised her influence to induce the King to favour Maximilian. No doubt the party of the heir-presumptive, Francis, encouraged this feeling; and his mother, the Duchess d'Angoulême (Louise de Savoye), being mortified that her son should be deprived of the Princess as a bride, was not likely to show great friendship to the Queen, in case of her being a widow. Anne was, therefore, most certainly right in taking measures for quitting the kingdom and retiring into Brittany, should such a misfortune reach her as the death of the King; and it was these considerations, doubtless, which induced her to order that many precious possessions belonging to her, such as plate and jewels, which, it will be recollected, were expressly named in the marriage contract *as her own*, should be packed up and put on board four vessels, to be conveyed to Nantes by the Loire.

The Maréchal de Gié, who commanded in the West, on hearing of this precaution of the Queen, conceived that she was acting in a manner detrimental to the interests of François de Valois, and ventured to take

upon himself, the responsibility of arresting the vessel at Saumur.

When Anne became aware of this step, which she considered an insult to her dignity, an interference with her will, and a reflection on her conjugal tenderness, her anger was so unbounded, knowing her own motives and probably acting by the advice of Louis himself in in what she had done, that all the severity of her nature, never before brought forth, was forced into life, and she resolved that the insolent Minister who had dared so to offend should experience the heaviest effects of her indignation.

While still smarting under the sense of wrong, she found, with rapturous delight, that her protector was not yet to be taken from her, for the King, contrary to all the prognostications of his physicians, recovered as suddenly as he had been attacked, and all fear respecting him was speedily at an end.

It has been said that Louise de Savoye, in spite of the action of de Gié being in the interest of his son, and also in spite of a coldness which had always existed between her and the Queen, was actuated by some private motive to join with Anne in her plans of vengeance against the imprudent Maréchal. It is thought that he had slighted hints the handsome Louise had given him of her preference, and that her mortified vanity led her to desire his punishment; if this was indeed the case Louise was singularly unfortunate, notwithstanding her attractions, as her enmity to the unfortunate Duke de Bourbon was said to have arisen from the same cause.* Be this as it

* In the Diary of Louise de Savoye, curious and interesting, but

may she was so far from standing his friend in this business that she encouraged the Queen's anger and aided her, as much as possible, to overwhelm de Gié with her wrath.

Anne had probably good reason to know, from the character of de Gié, that he had acted from unworthy motives, and not simply in the interests of the Crown. He was one of those favourites whose advice had frequently been dangerous to Charles VIII., and at the celebrated battle of Fornuovo, where the young King ran great risk of his life, being in command of the advance guard, he had failed in his duty, and exposed the Prince to unnecessary peril, without himself engaging in the combat.

Nevertheless, de Gié continued in favour with the successor of Charles, though it is likely that Anne never looked upon him with equal favour.*

unfortunately too brief, she once mentions de Gié; perhaps she felt resentment to him from this period from some notion she might have had that he had an evil intention in his dangerous present to her adored son.

"Jan. 25, 1501.—Le Jour de la Conversion de St. Paul. Environ deux heures après midi, mon Roi, mon Seigneur, mon César, et mon fils auprès d'Amboise fut emporté au travers des champs par une Hacquenée *que lui avait donné le Maréchal de Gyé*, et fut le danger si grand que ceux qui estoient presens l'estimèrent irréperable. Toutefois, Dieu, protecteur des femmes Veufves et deffenseur des Orphelins prevoyant les choses futures, ne me voulut abandonner, congnoissant que si le cas fortuit m'eust si soudainement privé de mon amour j'eusse été trop infortunée."

The influence of de Gié with the King was probably his crime in the eyes of Anne; de Fleuranges, in his account of his first visit to Court, names him as having received him after the King and Queen "il étoit grand ami avec la maison de la Marck (that of de Fleuranges) et *pour lors avoit tout le Gouvernement de France.*"

* Varillas, whose agreeable history is by no means to be depended on,

All the love of his people for their "Father" had been roused when it was rumoured that he was about to be snatched from them, and nothing could equal the enthusiasm of joy that took possession of all minds when he was pronounced out of danger. Louis was most sensible of this change of feeling in his favour, and, having reflected on the danger of his former policy, consulted with d'Amboise, who, during his illness, had had time to regret, and desire to rectify, his late advice, determined altogether to alter his line of conduct as respected the Emperor of Austria and the King of Spain. He felt sure that he should meet with opposition from his wife, and it might be in order to conciliate her as well as considering that de Gié had indulged in an unwarrantable exercise of his powers, that he allowed himself to be guided by the Queen in the punishment she wished to inflict on the Maréchal.

De Gié had just completed a magnificent habitation not far from Angers, called Le Verger, and there he was immediately commanded by Louis to retire, and consider himself banished from the Court. When he received this order, looking round on his beautiful domain, which was all that the most luxurious fancy could desire, and on which he had spent great wealth and exhausted his taste to bring to perfection, he exclaimed—"A la bon-heure m'á pris la pluye; Dieu garde de mal le Pelerin"*—a device which conveyed either the meaning that he was fortunately sheltered when a time of storm came, or which might

asserts that the Queen herself embarked on the Loire, and was arrested by him; but no other authors name this.

* De Seyssel.

be understood as a lament for his disgrace, so ambiguous were the ingenious mottos adopted at that period.

It appears that he thought to endure his exile with what philosophy he could in his paradise, when an unexpected cloud gathered over the scene and dispelled his illusions. He was summoned to appear to answer an accusation of peculation and *lèse-majesté:* arrested and carried off as a State criminal to Orleans, and from thence to Chartres and Dreux, where he was confronted with the Sieur d'Albret. After this he was taken to be tried at Paris, and it is said that the Queen, fearing that the judges of the capital would be too lenient, insisted on his being conveyed to Toulouse, where no favour was shown him, and he was sentenced to be deprived of all his honours and commands, and suspended in his rank of Maréchal de France for five years, with a prohibition to approach the Court during that period. So resolute was the Queen that his trial should be carried on without delay, that she herself paid all the expenses * of the prosecution, and sent to Italy for legal opinions on his case, with the view of his being found guilty. †

If Anne really desired that the sentence passed against him should be that of *death*, her wish was nearly accomplished, but whether she shuddered when such ample vengeance was within her power and retracted, as d'Argentré asserts that she did, ‡ or whether the humanity

* Said to have amounted to 31,000 livres 8 sous and 6 deniers.—Dreux du Radier.

† Mezeray, in speaking of Anne's character, says, "She was *terrible* to those who offended her," although he elsewhere speaks of her gentleness.

‡ "Rendue à elle même elle se répentoit de sa colère et d'avoir offensé

of Louis would not permit of so fatal a termination of the proceedings against his former favourite, the punishment of the Maréchal stopped at his banishment and loss of employ.

But though his life was spared, the unfortunate victim who, as Brantôme remarks, was "trop curieux de vouloir contrefaire le bon officier et le bon valet de la couronne," suffered the extreme of humiliation and disgrace.

A very painful scene is related as having taken place at Dreux, when he was examined and held up to the ridicule of the witnesses against him. He wore, it seems, a very long white beard, and, in the abstraction of his sorrow, he took it in his hands and with it covered his face. While thus concealing his countenance from his enemies, the favourite monkey of Alain d'Albret, Count de Dreux, who, according to the strange custom of the time, was in his *bed of justice*, leaped from the side of his master, who was reclining, and fastened upon the beard of the prisoner, who was obliged to maintain a long struggle with the mischievous animal before he could disembarrass himself of his attack.

If so often in the present day an untoward incident will, at the gravest moment, overset the seriousness of

quelqu'un: elle récompensoit l'offensé en bienfaits commandant à son confesseur *de le blâmer aigrement*, et ne voulant pas être absoute à sa confession, qu'elle n'eût satisfait et contenté l'offensé."—D'Argentré: *Hist. de Bretagne.*

It does not, however, appear that she ever made any amends to de Gié. Brantôme naïvely remarks, in his *"Dames Illustres,"* "On ne peut rien objecter à cette reine sinon ce seul SI de vengeance, si la vengeance est un SI, puisqu'elle est si belle et si douce."

judges, much more was such an accident as this likely to create risibility in so unnurtured an age as that in which the trial took place. The event was considered a good subject for theatrical treatment, and farces and *momeries* appeared instantly in Paris, representing the scene with all the exaggerations which unfeeling folly and malignity could suggest.

The scholars of Paris, always ready to catch up any popular subject and turn it to their purpose, acted a play, in which one of them, making allusion to the name of the Queen and the title of the culprit, made a series of puns, which, extremely popular at the time, are untranslateable into another language. He said: "qu'il y avait un *maréchal* qui avoit voulu *ferrer un* ANE, mais qu'il en avait reçu un tel coup de pied, qu'il avait été jeté pardessus les murailles jusqu'à dans le *Verger*."*

* Jean d'Authon. D'Argentré.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE COUP D'ÉTAT OF LOUIS—THE FATHER OF HIS PEOPLE—THE CONTRACT—THE GOVERNESS IN PARADISE—A VISIT TO BRITTANY—THE ERMINE AT MORLAIX—THOMASSINE SPINOLA—LOVE OF A HERO—ROMANCE OF AFFECTION—FATAL DESPAIR—FUNERAL HONOURS.

It has been seen how much the projected marriage of the Princess Claude to Charles of Austria was disliked in France, the universal fear being, that it might cause, in the end, the dismemberment of the kingdom. The nation in general regarded the young Duke de Valois, son of the Countess d'Angoulême, as the next heir to the Crown, as Louis had no heir male, and the unanimous desire was that the Princess should marry that Prince rather than another: but the Queen continued, as much as ever, resolutely opposed to this union.

The Countess d'Angoulême, who was as young, as handsome, and as haughty as the Queen, had incurred her enmity, and the dislike that Anne felt to the mother extended to the son. In vain Louis XII. endeavoured to prove to her the necessity of yielding; in this instance, her firmness, it must be allowed, amounted to obstinacy, and she refused to listen to his arguments. As he was

always anxious not to distress her, and would not use his authority, he had recourse to a stratagem which may be called a coup d'état, the resource of Princes when in great straits.

The Convocation of the States had been demanded by all the great cities of the kingdom, and it is probable that the demand was privately encouraged by the King. Louis accordingly assembled them at Tours, the 10th May, 1506. Jean Bricot, Chanoine of Nôtre Dame de Paris, being the Orator chosen on the occasion.

On the 14th, Louis came in great State to preside, when he found a triumph prepared for him such as few Princes at any period have enjoyed. Instead of having evils to represent, and wrongs to be redressed, the Orator of the States, in the name of France in general, offered the grateful thanks of the nation to the Sovereign for his beneficent and paternal Administration, naming him "the Father of the country, and the Father of his people."

No sooner was this epithet given than the hall rung with the most enthusiastic acclamations. When this burst of affectionate loyalty had subsided, the Orator supplicated the King, in the name of the people who so much loved him, not to marry his daughter Claude to a stranger. He pointed to the young Duke de Valois, who was present, indicating that he it was on whom the choice of the nation had fallen.

At this stage of his dramatic oration the speaker threw himself at the feet of the King, all the deputies at the same instant doing likewise.

Louis, startled by this act, was so much affected that he burst into tears. His Chancellor, the excellent and honest de Rochefort, immediately accepted, in the King's name, the glorious title that the people's love had bestowed on him, and promised a prompt reply to the request made. Louis then invited the chiefs of the State to a council extraordinary, and, in six days after their consultations, he again appeared at the Assembly of the States, and declared that, in conformity with their desire, the marriage of his daughter with the Duke de Valois had been decided on. The bride elect was, at this time, four years of age, and the bridegroom twelve.

Louis was aware that his wife would, under circumstances like the present, shrink from offering opposition to the national wish, which was, in fact, the case; nevertheless, she so much disliked the idea of the marriage, that it is likely had she lived, that it would not have taken place. She trusted, no doubt, in giving her consent, to the same chances which had decided her own marriage, and looked forward to the possibility of being yet able to repair to Maximilian of Austria the wrong he had endured in being himself deprived of her wide domains, and his daughter of the Crown of France.

The King, on the contrary, was extremely gratified by what had occurred, and lost no time in having the ceremony of the contract of marriage performed at Tours, with great solemnity, by the Cardinal d'Amboise. After which, a succession of jousts and tournaments ensued, which gave general delight, and the

States dispersed highly satisfied with all that the King had done.*

Madame Louise de Savoye, much more content with this arrangement than the Queen, has entered this event in her journal, exultingly, as follows:—

"L'an. 1507 le 22 May, au Plessis les Tours, deux heures après midi, fut confirmé le mariage *par parolle de present,* entre mon fils et Madame Claude, *à present Reine de France.*"

Louis, who was excessively fond of his daughter Claude, had evidently been much disturbed at the idea of the former contract, and his mind was now at rest. A proof that his thoughts ran on the subject of his child's welfare is afforded in an anecdote related of his illness. It is told by the historian of the life of Louis, Jean d'Authon, that as he lay in the height of fever he called for Madame Claude, his daughter, and when she came, accompanied by her governess, Madame de Tournon, he ordered a large stick to be brought, which he appears to have mistaken for a sword, when, addressing the child, he said: "I beg of you, my daughter, to preserve this sword as a pledge of my affection." He desired that no one but herself should touch it under pain of death, but when the little Princess took it from him, her hands being too weak to hold it, Madame de Tournon involuntarily put out her hands to assist her, on which the King fiercely exclaimed: "Madame! you are dead!"

The lady, observing that he spoke under the influence

* *Mem. de Fleuranges:* "Et tout cela faict, s'en retournèrent tous les estats merveilleusement bien contents de tout ci qui le Roy avait faict."

of delirium, replied: "Sire, it is true that I merit death for having disobeyed your commands." On which she at once quitted the apartment of the King.

After some time, when he was considered calmer, she ventured to reappear in his presence, but when he saw her, he looked greatly perplexed, and said: "How is this, Madame? You certainly were dead."

"True, Sire," replied she, "and I afterwards was conveyed to Paradise, to the presence of the Father and the Son, and it was there that, at the intercession of the Blessed Virgin and the Saints, my life was restored to me, on condition that I returned to your Majesty and used all my endeavours to persuade you to take nourishment, in order to secure your recovery."

The patient, who appears to have suffered under a highly-nervous affection, became convinced by this fable, and consented no longer to oppose the advice of his physicians and nurses, and, in due course, his health was re-established.*

Louis appears to have been subject to sudden and violent attacks of illness, during which his life was often despaired of. On one of these occasions, the Queen was visiting her good towns of Brittany, for, after the conduct of de Gié, Louis wished to show that he had not sanctioned it by allowing her full liberty to assert her separate right to the duchy;† and she went through the country, everywhere received with enthusiasm.

There is a pretty story told,‡ I know not on what

* Tailhé's *Life of Louis XII.* † Daniel.
‡ See *Magazin Pittoresque*, Vol. 1837, 5me année.

authority, of her visit to St. Pol de Leon and Morlaix. At the latter place, the citizens, waiting upon their Duchess in a body, presented to her an ermine, which had been tamed for the purpose, and at the same time, a rich present of a small ship of gold, enriched with precious stones—the benefits conferred by Anne on the Navy being one of the chief advantages which both France and Brittany had derived from the union. She may, in a great measure, be looked upon as the foundress of the fame of the French navy; she spent much of her revenue in improving it, and paid for and fitted out at her own charge, on one occasion, twelve vessels of the line, intended to join the expedition which the Sovereigns of Europe at that time were undertaking against the Turks, as enemies to Christianity.

Anne, having received the ermine, caressed the animal; it returned her endearments, and at length suddenly concealed itself in the bosom of her robe, which unexpected proceeding startled the Queen, and caused her some alarm, when the Viscount de Rohan, her old enemy, but now a favoured friend, who was with her, exclaimed: "What do you fear, Madame, is not the ermine your cognizance?"*

No doubt Anne soon recovered her presence of mind and duly appreciated the sentiment of her faithful Breton subjects.

It is said that while she was making this progress, news reached her that the King was again ill; but, though several couriers were despatched to her, she

* When Anne married Louis she insisted on the ermines in the shield of France being *crowned*, as they accordingly appear.—Daniel.

resolved not to return, being determined, after what had occurred, never more to quit Brittany, if it was decreed that she was to be again a widow. This assertion, however, wants confirmation, and is inconsistent with the great attachment she bore her husband, whom, in all his sicknesses, she had hitherto attended with the utmost devotion, refusing to quit him for an instant, or to take repose herself until he was out of all danger. It is probable that it was on the occasion of this indisposition of the King taking place in her absence, that she is recorded to have "kept her windows closed eight days, passing the time in tears and prayers."* If she was at St. Pol de Leon, at the furthest extremity of Brittany, and heard that the King was not likely to recover, she might have been too much overcome to travel, and have considered that her return, after his death, would be useless, and involve her in difficulties better avoided.

There was another person, attached to the King, who heard of this illness of his with equal agony, but whose extraordinary devotion to him so carried her beyond the bounds of ordinary reason that it cost her her life. The episode of the affection of Thomassine Spinola for Louis XII. is so extraordinary that it deserves record. M. Dreux du Radier, in his interesting work on the Queens and Regents of France has given her story at full length, and all the historians of the time allude to it as a circumstance "much talked of."

After the magnificent entry made by Louis XII. into Genoa, in 1502, he remained there for ten days, when

* Mezeray.

the Genoese did all in their power to signalise their zeal, and show the joy which they felt at his presence. Nothing but "*fêtes et festins*" took place during the time of his stay, so that, remarks d'Authon, "*grands et petits faisoient la vie aux anges.*"

The King visited all the churches; and amongst the wonders shown him was the famous Saint Graal, about which the romancers of chivalric times have written so much and so mysteriously. At Genoa, it is represented as *the dish* out of which the Saviour ate at the Last Supper. The tradition is, that the earthen dish, used on that solemn occasion, was miraculously changed into one of a pure emerald. It was, at that time, kept in the Cathedral of St. Laurence, and on it was placed the precious relic of the identical head of St. John the Baptist. The faith of Louis in the truth of these relics is not questioned; but Charles V., when he visited Genoa, desired that the dish should be examined by a jeweller, who pronounced it genuine, and found that it weighed twelve ounces.*

Contrary to the usual customs of the Italians, the Genoese allowed full liberty to their wives and daughters to be presented to the King and his brilliant Court. At all the balls and solemnities, the ladies appeared dressed in the richest and most becoming manner, all anxious to attract the King's attention, and to show him honour. Among the most remarkable for beauty and accomplishments, was a daughter of the illustrious house of Spinola, who was looked upon as one of the

* See notes to "*Letters to Marguerite of Austria*," and *Hist.* de Tailhé.

most beautiful and distinguished personages in the country. She was called Thomassine, according to French authors, and, from the rank she held, had frequent occasion to meet, and even to converse with, the King, whose gracious manners, high spirits, and noble demeanour, had an effect on her heart, which raised her first admiration of the hero to a height of enthusiasm, from whence she regarded him as almost a divinity.

Louis, flattered by her undisguised attachment, and aware of her talent and knowledge, was fond of conversing with her on subjects of moment as regarded the country, and other matters; and these interviews, which she too much exulted in, caused her passion to increase with a violence scarcely to be understood but by a native of the clime of Juliet.

Thomassine appears to have carried her notions of chivalric romance as far as possible, and, like the heroines of Amadis, to have considered it a duty to inform the wandering hero King who had won her heart, that she considered herself, in future, bound to him by every tie of sentiment and affection that could exist under the circumstances of his being a married man, united, too, to a woman, to whom it was notorious that he was deeply attached. She revealed to him the passion of her heart, and requested him to grant the only favour she had a right to demand, which was, that henceforth he would look upon her as his "*maitresse de cœur*,"* and allow her to name him her lover, or, "as it

* In ancient romances the lover is called *Le Sire*, and the lady, *La Dame de mes pensées*. This account is taken by du Radier, from a MS. in the Bibliotheque du Roi, of Jean d'Authon.

was called," says d'Authon—"*intendio*—accointance honorable, et aimable intelligence."

As it appears that the lady was also married, this romantic arrangement, perfectly however understood in Italy, appears the more singular. Louis was too much gratified to refuse the title requested of him, and Thomassine accordingly gave herself up to this extremity of romance, and devoted her whole mind, thoughts, and feelings, to an exclusive attachment to the conqueror of Italy, and of her heart.

Louis departed, as he came, carrying away with him gratitude for the brilliant reception he had met with, and, it appears, great esteem and respect for the enthusiastic lady who had made such energetic demonstrations of regard towards him.

When, in 1505, the King was seized with the dangerous illness which has been spoken of, the news spread far and fast that he had sunk under it, and the unfortunately sensitive Thomassine, on hearing of that which appeared to her a calamity which it was impossible to endure, gave way to such paroxysms of grief that her death ensued. When the account of her despair and its consequences reached Louis, he was deeply affected, and commanded d'Authon, his historiographer, to record the event, consecrating to posterity the memory of the virtues and merits of the enthusiastic lady—

"Who loved, not wisely, but too well."

The record was accordingly made, and Thomassine is called *dame intendix du Roi* in the four long, and, it must be confessed, somewhat tedious poems of the historian and

poet. The work was presented to the King and Queen at Tours, and was "read with pleasure." Louis, highly delighted with the composition, ordered a copy of the verses to be sent to Genoa, to be included in the funeral solemnities with which the tomb of this Pazza per Amore was surrounded by her admiring friends and countrymen, and they were kept "en signe de continuelle souvenance et spectacle memorable."

The story presents a curious picture of the manners of the time: perhaps the respective Royal lovers of Agnes Sorel and Diane de Poictiers, desired that the attachment of the *Dames de leurs Pensées* should be considered in the same light by their wives as that of Louis XII. was by Anne of Brittany.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

RETURN TO LYONS—THE QUEEN'S JOURNEY TO BLOIS—JEAN MAROT—LE VOYAGE A GENES—LE MAIRE DE BELGE.

But the violent demonstrations of attachment shown by the Genoese to the King of France did not prevent their revolting against him, and once more it became necessary to Louis to repass the mountains, and see that order was restored. Anne was again expecting a confinement,* but would not allow her husband to depart without her from Blois. She accordingly accompanied him, as before, to Lyons, hoping to be able to detain him there; but Louis, aware of her anxious wish to prevent his danger, nevertheless resolved on daring it; he therefore soothed her as much as possible, and endeavoured to conceal his real intention.

Anne, who knew his affection for their little daughter Claude, represented to him that the child was pining away with desire to see her father, and entreated him, after a time, to return with her to Blois in order to comfort her.† Louis had really done this on one oc-

* Claude de Seyssel. Edit. de Godefroy, 1615.

† "Disant qu'elle s'esmoyoit et avait moult grand soucy de luy. A

casion of his daughter's illness, but this time it was by no means his intention.

De Seyssel gives the words of the King on this occasion: "I am resolved to return shortly, without fail, but it is necessary, in order to terrify my enemies and to reassure my friends, that I should remain here a certain time. And in order that I should be able to accomplish this, it appears to me that you had better return to Blois to repose yourself, and prepare for your confinement. Depend upon it I will soon rejoin you."

"The Queen," continues de Seyssel, "finding that this was the King's pleasure, and agreeing that it was best for herself, was content to obey; and that she might travel the more easily, the King imagined a sort of litter which he had made, in which she could be carried by his Germans, the cords of the litter being suspended from their necks. He appointed twenty-four of these men, of the strongest, to be her bearers, eight at a time, and in relays. In this manner, on the 27th July, the Queen, being very near her accouchement, quitted Lyons for Blois, by way of Bresle and Tarare, to which distance the King went with her, and from Tarare he returned to Lyons, still promising soon to join her at Blois.

Louis kept his word on this occasion, in spite of himself, for Maximilian having failed with the forces he had promised, he was forced, for the time, to abandon the Italian expedition. It seems that little Claude had really been pining for her father, and when he returned

quoy dissimula le Roy, disans, Je suis déliberé sans point de faulte de m'en retourner bientôt."

was so joyful, that he could not again resolve to quit either her or his wife, and "en grand joie et liesse passa l'hiver."

During the frequent absences of the King in his Italian wars, Anne seems to have amused her leisure by the society of men of letters, whose compositions she directed and encouraged. Translations were made, by her orders, from Latin works, some of which are more comic than classic in their style; but there was no want of real talent at her Court.

Jean Marot, the father of Clement, whose fame as a poet altogether eclipsed that of his sire, was Secretary and Laureate of the Queen, whom he calls, in his dedication of his famous poem, "Le Voyage à Gènes," "Royne incomparable, deux fois divinement sacrée Anne Duchesse de Bretagne."

The poet, whose prose is somewhat crabbed, speaks of having undertaken the work at her encouraging command, and having added a second canto, acknowledging, with unusual humility in an author, that the first was not as good as it ought to have been, being full of "*imbecillité* et lourde rudesse," rather forcible expressions, yet adds, apparently getting angry with his own demerits, in comparing them with the condescension of his patroness, in spite of the poem being full of "squalide et barbare *squabrosité*," that she had deigned to place it in her library, "le receptacle ou *gazophile* de vos aultres livres."*

* See *Œuvres* de Clement et Jean Marot. The edition consulted for the specimens is the magnificent one of La Haye, 4to, with ornamented borders to the thick leaves printed in red and black, adorned with beautiful vignettes. Edited by M. Huet, Evèque d'Avranches, 1731.

A few specimens may suffice of the curious poem, which the author has himself so strangely characterised :—

"Au moys d'Avril le Roy part de Grenoble
Portant en face une saincte liesse.
Anne, Royne des Dames le plus noble,
Ne peult parler pour sa dine detreçse,
Sembloit Dido quaint Eneas delaisse.
Ou Ipsiphile abandonnant Jazon,
Mais ceste Dame à plus grant raison
D'avoir douleur plus aspre et furibunde,
Voyans celuy qui n'à comparaison
D'honneurs et biens, saillie de la maison
Pour guerroyer les plus fiers de ce monde.

A rondeau follows, *au despartir*, the refrain of which is repeated, and the main poem goes on to give the whole journey of Louis :—

"Car ceste Dame à soubz lamentz discretz,
Trop plus souffert qu'onques ne souffrit femme.
Au despartir
Lors eussiez veu Dames et Damoiselles
Avec leur Dame en dŏuleur pleurs et plains ;
Car quant le chef porte peines crŭelles,
Impossible est que les membres soient sains
L'une regrette oncles nepveux germains
Et l'autre plaint son mary et son frère :
Nobles alors portent douleur amère
Voyans souffrir aux Dames tel martyre.
Le Roy s'en part, chascun se delibère,
De dire adieu, adoncques veissiez faire
Maintz doulx baisers—sçavoir un mot dire!

These lines may remind the reader, with a difference, of Byron's immortal partings at Brussels, on the eve of the battle.

Vous Anne aussi Royne très chrestienne
Est il besoign à prier vous induire ?

Certes nenny, car vostre esprit contemne
Ores plaisir, mais jamais ne se tenne
De prier Dieu, pour cil qui tant desire.
Las! il s'en va, prétendant faire luyre
Le vostre nom et le sien tellement
Qui dit sera perpetuellement
Louis Douzième et dizième des Preux:
Lors toutes gens diront publiquement
Que heureuse fut d'honneur et d'aisement
La chère épouse à un Roy tant heureux.

Ce mesme jour le Roy de Milan part
Armé à blanc à desployée Enseigne
Tout animé fait ung soudain depart
Sembloit Hercule ayant cueur de lyepart
Cherchant Cacus aux creux de la montagne
Je ne croy pas si Anne de Bretagne
Présente fut à ceste dure allée
Qu'elle ne print, fust à perte ou a gaigne
Armes chevaulx comme Penthasilée.

He describes her and her ladies going barefoot to pray at shrines for the King as he is in the midst of war with the Venetians.

En celuy temps dedans Lyon étoit
La Royne las! qui tousjours lamentoit
Pour les regrets que son las cueur portoit
Incessamment.
Car par excriptz sçavoit certainement
Comment le Roy passa très hardiment
La rive d'Ade et comme franchement
A son Camp mis.

VICTORY.

Voyla comment les ungs avont liesse,
De l'Heur du Roy et les autres tristesse,
Mais dessus tout ceste nôble Princesse,
Royne de France.
Voyant l'escript qui donnoit cognoissance
De la victoire, eut telle rejouissance
Par cy devant,
Va tout soulas et plaisir recevant.

She is then represented as asking the messenger all the particulars of the victory :—

Lors vers le ciel à mains et bras tendus
Disant mon Dieu honneurs te soient rendus !

She instantly sends letters all over France, announcing the good news.

The triumphs of Louis are told in lines like the following :—

De Dames moult frisques
Œuvres deifiques
Faces angéliques,
Ouvroyrs et boutiques
Dyaprez estoient,
La mantz fantastiques
Amans lunatiques
Voyans tetz reliques,
Soubz regards obliques
Leur yeux repaissoient
D'Habits authentiques—Carcans magnifiques
Pierreries antiques, &c.

RETURN OF LOUIS XII.

Ainsi s'en part sans sejourner en place,
Plus hault d'un jour, desirant veoir en face
Anne sa femme;
Mais ainsi est que la très bonne dame,
Vint à Vigille où la de corps et d'ame
Reçeut celluy qu'au monde plus elle aime
Son cher epoux;
Adonc sont gros soupirs et sanglots
Regretz ennuys, craintes, pleurs, et courroux,
Des jours passez muez en plaisirs doux
Joye et liesse.
Lors, chevaliers, escuyers, en humblesse,
En doux baisers, vers dames font addresse.

The work closes with a rondeau, which fixes the time

of its being completed, namely, after the King's conquests over the Venetians.

> En moins d'ung Mois Loys douzième Roy
> A rué jus le belliqueux arroy
> Venetien. . . .
> L'an mil cinq cens. et neuf au mois de May.

Jean Marot writes in the same strain as Le Maire de Belge, in favour of *honnesteté*, prudence, and all the virtues, giving rondeaux to each; very little does he say of love, leaving that to his son, who said too much afterwards, and in so wrong a spirit. Nevertheless, when he afterwards wrote, in the time of Francis I., a few rondeaux are on that subject, probably prohibited at the Court of Anne. Although the merits of the immoral Clement, have been too much dwelt on by French critics, yet it must be acknowledged that his father's muse, although purer, is scarcely so polished as his own.

There is much more grace and melody in the lays of Jean, called Le Maire de Belge, who assumed for his motto, according to the habit of the time, the words "DE PEU ASSEZ," as Jean Marot had distinguished himself from others by the devise, "NE TROP, NE PEU."

Jean Marot, however, is to be commended for good intentions:—

> "And where good-will is shown, tho' it come short,
> The *author* may plead pardon."

Unlike his more celebrated son, Clement, whose general style by no means conduced to virtue or prudence, Jean had always morality in view, but the opening line of most of his rondeaux expresses all the thought contained

in the poem, which is also frequently the case with those of Clement. The following will serve as specimens of the manner alluded to, as regards both.

Such openings of a poem as these of Clement are suggestive, but it is seldom that the reader is not disappointed in finding the thought carried out.

Depuis quatre ans, etc.
Fausse Fortune, etc.
Il n'en est rien, etc.
Loign de tes yeux, etc.

These words are repeated as the *refrain* of the rondeau, and all between, in too many instances, are little worth. There was, however, a certain melody in the language of Clement which catches the ear and charms it, in spite of judgment. This "Poëte des Princes et Prince des Poëtes," as he was called, did infinite service to the French language, and is prized accordingly.

These are some of the beginnings of the rondeaux of Jean Marot, which seem intended as mottoes, such as were the fashion of the day, and were probably adopted at Court:—

Au cueur gist tout et non pas aux habitz.
Sans beau maintien Dame est cheval sans bride.
Ne trop ne peu parler doit la Princesse.
En sa maison doit la Princesse avoir
Gens bien lectrez.
Entre vivans n'est rien tant dommageable
Qu'un mal parlant.
En faitz et ditz la Princesse doit estre
Tres vertueuse et donner à cognoistre
Par ses bienfaitz qu'elle est digne d'avoir
Tiltre Royal.

Plus que poison fuyez la dur meschef
D'oiseveté.
Ung Dieu, ung Homme aymer doit toute Dame.

He advises the ladies to think little of dress—advice which was by no means followed in the next reign :—

Garde toi bien d'estre inventeresse
D'habits nouveaux ; car mainte pecheresse
Tantost sur toy prendroit son exemplaire.

Amongst those who celebrated the achievements of Louis, under the direction of the Queen, was an Italian named Fausto Andrelini, who called himself *Faustus Andrelinus*, according to the custom of adopting Latin appellations, and, it being considered that he was a worthy successor of Sallust or Tacitus because he wrote in Latin, Marc de Villebresme, of Blois, was charged to translate his works into French, and very grotesque they are said to be.*

Jean d'Autun wrote in French, but Francisque Suard, of Bergamo, imitated Fausto, and tuned his muse to Latin verse.

Anne collected the poems of these writers on this subject, had them written on vellum, and illuminated by the most excellent hands. The volume still exists, and the miniatures are said to present accurate portraits of the Royal personages, and also very curious representations of the costumes of the time, and even of the furniture of the Palace, in several pictures of interiors.

Jean d'Autun, in his poetical history, supposes himself the secretary of Hector, and corresponds with Louis

* *Hist. de Blois.*

XII. from the Champs Elysées. Louis, delighted with the compliments of this poet, charged those in his suite, for he was always accompanied by several on his journeys, amongst the chief of whom was Le Maire de Belge, to reply to Hector in very friendly style, and, amongst other things, he is made to say that he desires to see a Pope filling the Holy See whose merits were great enough to draw the Trojan Prince from Hades and conduct him to Heaven; as another Pontiff had done for the Emperor Trajan.

The miniature which accompanies this epistle represents Boreas, with his wings expanding, and his sword at his side, waiting for the Royal message, that he may fly off and take it to the address at the Castle of Blois, where the Queen received these poetical answers to the compliments of the poets, which she was continually despatching to her wandering knight.*

* *Hist. of Blois.* See, for ample details on this exchange of poetry, "*Le Château de Blois,*" par M. de Saussaye; where explanations of the miniatures will be found. It is probable that these epistles, written by deputy, may have given rise to the assertion that Anne and Louis themselves corresponded in verse and in Latin.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE POET HISTORIOGRAPHER—ILLUSTRATIONS DE GAULE—LE MAIRE'S OPINION OF THE POPE—THE CLERGY INVEIGHED AGAINST—TEMPLE D'HONNEUR — WRITING IN FETTERS — L'AMANT VERD—L'AMANT VERD'S LAMENT—L'AMANT VERD'S TOMB—PARADISE—ENUMERATION OF ANIMALS.

JEAN LE MAIRE DE BELGE is so remarkable a personage, that he is not to be passed over lightly like the earlier Marot, whose verses scarcely entitle him to be called a poet. Le Maire had a great deal of imagination and grace, which his poem on "The Green Lover" proves, and, in any age, might have enjoyed popularity. He attached himself to Anne of Brittany, and was called her Sécretaire Indiciaire, or historiographer; but he divided his devotions between the Queen of France and the daughter of Maximilian, Marguerite of Austria. He became afterwards the *protégé* of Claude de France, wife of François I. To each of these Princesses he dedicated poems, and sang the praises of each in turn.

His principal work in prose is called "Les Illustrations de Gaule,"* and is a curious medley on the Church,

* "*Les Illustrations de Gaule, et Singularitez de Troye Contenant trois parties avec l'Epître du Roy Hector de Troye. Le Traicte de la Difference des Scismes et des Concilles. La Vraye Hystoire et non fabuleuse Prince Syach Ysmael dict Sophy.* Le tout composé par excellent His-

the Venetians, and the Sophy. His ideas respecting the conduct of the Pope, and the abuses of the Church, appear singularly daring at such a period, and prove the state of men's minds as regarded the lax morality to which they were forced to submit in high places, as well as in a humbler station, and how well prepared they were for the approaching and inevitable reformation. The mysteries of "Mère Sotte," by Pierre Gringore, are even more sarcastic on the same subjects.

Le Maire appears to have been a great favourite with the Regent Anne, to whom he dedicated many of his poems. The peroration to the third book of his "Illustrations de Gaule," runs thus:—

Seigneurs prudentz et dames vertueuses de noblesse Gallicane et Françoyse, s'il vous semble que j'ay satisfaict en tout ou en partie a ce que j'ay promis au commencement de ce volume, je vous prie rendez en graces *à la Reyne* très Chretienne nôtre souveraine dame Duchesse de Bretagne à laquelle par la grande excellence de sa noblesse et bonté cette presente œuvre est liberalement dediée et intitulée et de laquelle Princesse le très benin traitement et gracieux commandement m'a donné hardiesse de mettre ce labeur en lumière devant vos yeux benins et courtoise audience, etc., etc."*

toriographe Maistre Jean le Maire de Belges, en son vivant Secretaire de sacrée Princesse Madame Anne de Bretagne, deux fois Reine de France. Avec additions de l'Authon. Paris, 1548. On les vend a Paris, à la Rue St. Jacque, a l'enseigne du Loup. Par Poucet le Preux."

* In the middle of his history of Troy, apropos of Gaul, he introduces a story of a *giant* found in the Museum of Vivaretz, in Auvergne; the coffin and bones being twenty-two feet long, according to the "portraiture," preserved in the Jacobins of Valence, in Dauphiné, some of the

Le Maire thus speaks of the *Pope*, in the "Epître du Roy à Hector de Troye:"—

"Or à present en avons nous un tel
Qui se dict serf du Grand Dieu immortel
Mais il tint peu de son bon exemplaire
Par quoy ne peut aux *très vrays Chretiens plaire*
Aincoys complainct plus tost aux infidelles
Quand par effortz de ses armes cruelles
Il ne faict rien sinon s'evertuer
De sang repandre et faire gens tuer,
Et pour monster qu'il y met son étude,
Et qu'il nous rend pour grace ingratitude,
Noz ennemies partout il solicite
Que entre nous la guerre suscite,
Et que Françoys pour une fin totale
Soient frustrez de nos biens en Italie
. . . . .
Oh, mon vrai Dieu! quell'guerre monstrueuse
Mal consonante encore moins fructueuse
Il faict beau voir un ancien Prebstre en armes
Crier l'assault *enhorter* aux alarmes
Souillé de sang en lieu de sacrifice
Contre l'estat de son très digne office

The poet, in his "Scismes et Conciles de l'Eglise," quotes Alain Chartier's opinion in his book called "L'Exil:" "Or fut il picça faict un nouvel statut en l'Eglise Latin qui dissevera l'ordre du Sainct mariage d'avecques la dignité de prebstrise soubz couleur de pureté et chasteté sans souilleure. . . . Et ce premier

bones proved the "*proportion and corpulence of this giant.*" These identical bones are, or were, in the Ste. Chapelle, at Bourges, dedicated to it by le Roy René d'Anjou, Cte. de Provence. Louis XII. saw some of them at Valence, on the Rhone. "Icelui géant," says the chronicles of Dauphiné, was Lord of the country, and was *probably* issue of the "noblesse Troyenne." It is *more* probable that the gigantic bones were those of Saurians, which have long ceased to excite astonishment, even amongst the ignorant of our own day.

statut departit picça l'Eglise Grec de la Latine et le desordonnance avariceuse des prebstres a faict separer les peuples de Behaigne de l'Eglise de Rome—que dis je de Behaigne? Mais de Chréstienté quasi toute car les gens d'Eglise ont si maculé par leur coulpes eulx et leur estat qu'ils sout desdaignez et des grandes et des menuz du monde et les cueurs alienéz et estrangéz de Sainct Eglise par dissolution de ses ministres."

He inveighs against the ordinance prohibiting the marriage of the clergy, and justly considers that "covetousness, ambition, simony, and luxury, are much more to be avoided than honest marriage." He professes to restrain his words, but thinks that the conduct of the priests has set a fire to the Church which will be never extinguished, and that Mother Church has been so ill-used that he "fears the worst."

He also speaks of the Sultan of Egypt as being more friendly to the Church than the Pope, "for he has permitted the holy shrines to be cared for, and allows pilgrims to go with safe conduct, much to the joy of Christian Princes."

Many of his epistles are dated from Blois, Nantes, and Rennes.

In an allegory not unlike Milton's "Lycidas," he addresses Anne de Bourbon on the death of her husband —calling her the Queen Aurora, and bringing fawns, and nymphs, and the god Pan, to lament the loss she and her daughter have sustained. He calls the poem "Le Temple d'Honneur et de Vertus." Composé par Maistre Jehan le Maire, disciple de Molinet, a l'honneur de feu Monsieur de Bourbon." He then proceeds to

quote the opinion of Cretin on its merits, and tells the Duchess it had been seen by her late cousin, the Comte de Ligny, whose death she deplores, that event having taken place *since* the death of her husband. He says he has a *few copies on his hands*, having had it printed by Anthoine Verard, at Paris, to be published *partout*, in honour of the Duke and Duchess. He sends it as a *petit present* of consolation to her.

Cretin's praises of his friend's genius are thus conceived:—

> Tu dois porter couronne de laurier
> Par bruit exquis

Mieux que Pis was the device of Cretin, the then celebrated poet, whose approval so much gratified the Secretary of the Queen, and whose fame was laughed away by Rabelais. The Eloge of the Duke de Bourbon begins thus:—

> Donnez repos a voz doulx flaiolez
> Tant mignoley*
> Gentilz bergers
> Des champs
>
> Et vous aussi très plaisant oiseletz
> Rossignolez
> Cessez un peu vos plaitz
> D'Amore repletz
> Pour ouyr autres chantz
> Ruisseaux glissans qui mene bruitz plaisans
> Soyez taisants courez a douce noyse
> Souffrez le loz de haulteur Bourbon noyse
> Tous arbrisseaux en florissent de joye
> Au chant de Pan toute rien se resioye

* It will be remarked that no stops are ever put to the poet's lines.

Lors se montre au monde
Plus nette et plus munde
Qu'une perle ronde
Aurora la blonde
Devant le soleil

Clere et rubiconde
En beauté seconde
En bonté feconde
Doulce en sa facunde
El de bel accueil

Le Maire was a great master of the art of *writing in fetters,** as may be called the style so fashionable in his day, when to be considered a great poet the most extravagant twisting of rhyme was necessary. In this style Cretin, Molinet and Marot, were the most remarkable, and the evil habit became so popular that it required a century to get rid of it, both in France and England. He speaks of Charles VIII., though writing in the time of Louis XII., to Anne de Bourbon, with high commendation.

"Le bon Roy Charles VIII., à bon droit dict et renommé Prince magnanime clement et debonaire, l'estoc de haulte generosité, le sourion de magnificence Royale, le facteur attrayant des engins scientifiques, *l'excitateur des lettres* et le guerdonneur des merites. Lequel les sainctz recteurs *de ce temple* (d'honneur) vouleurent prendre en la plus verde fleur de son aege pour plustost l'assumpter a cette gloire triumphante."

Throughout his lays Le Maire ceases not to laud virtue, study, labour, and honour, exhorting his readers to fly idleness and luxury, and to be modest, gentle, and pious. The great change that took place afterwards in the next reign, in the style of the poets, the licence and impurity which fill their pages and prevent the possibility of their works being read, prove the

* See the "*Specimens of Early French Poetry*," by the Author. Pickering. 1835.

different manners of the Court after the death of the virtuous Anne of Brittany and her ladies.

The most poetical of the works of Le Maire de Belge is his "Epître de l'Amant Verd," addressed to Marguerite of Austria, on the death of a favourite paroquet, then a rare bird in France, and the Low Countries.

How it happens that commentators could have imagined this hero of the poem to be a human lover is incomprehensible, for the nature of the attachment of the green lover to his mistress appears too clear to need remark; however, several learned pens were employed in the controversy to prove this fact.

This "Amant Verd" was an Ethiopian bird, which having belonged to her mother, Mary of Burgundy, by whom it was greatly prized, as her beloved Maximilian's present, was in special favour with Marguerite. It is supposed the bird died of regret, during the absence of his mistress, and the poet represents him as being received into an imaginary Paradise of animals, where many readers who have lost and mourned similar favourites would not be sorry to fancy they were transported. The fiction is pleasing and graceful and charmingly managed.*

There is no little feeling and considerable beauty of expression in the opening of the poem; and perhaps the passion breathed in the lines, caused the surmise of the learned disputants, who would not be satisfied that a mere bird could talk thus.

What the poet himself might have felt towards his

* See, for translated specimens: *Early Poetry of France.*

gentle and accomplished patroness, like Ronsard for the too lovely Mary Stuart, cannot be decided on, but may be surmised.

"Sensuyt la première epistre de l'Amant Verd, à Mdlle. Marguerite Auguste:"—

S'il est ainsi (fille au hault Empereur
Fille à Cæsar ce puissant conquereur)
S'il est ainsi que autres foys par semblant
Ayez aymé ce pauvre corps tremblant
Que de tes mains ne prendra plus substance
Las! souffre un peu ta haultesse et prestante
Ses beaux yeux clers (par un hault benefice)
Prester lecture à ce *derrain* office
Derrain diz je quand a moy qui t' escripz
Car mettant fin a mes chantz et criz
Je delibere et sans fainct propose
A mes brefs joies mettre certaine pose

O demideux O satyres agrestes
Nymphes de boys et fontaines proprettes
Escoutez moy ma plainct demener
Et tu echo qui faiz l'air resonner
Et les rochers de voix repurcussives
Veuilles douler mes douleurs excessives

Vous cognoissez que par maitresse et dame
J'avois acquis par dessus mes merites
La fleur des fleurs le chois de Marguerites

Elle s'en va Helas elle s'en va
Et je demeure icy sans compagnie
Elle s'en va voir la noble Germanie
Elle va voir le Roy Romain son père
Et autre Roy son seul frère prospere
Et tout sans moy

Or doy je bien hayr ma triste vie
Veu que tant t'ay par terre et mer suyvie
Par boys par champs par montaigne et vallée
Et quand je t'ay maintes fois consolée

En tes dangiers de nauffraiges et perilz
Esquel sans moy n'avons joie ni riz
Et maintenant tu laisse ton amant

Tu es cruelle ou au moins trop sevère
Veu que ton œil qui en dueil persevère
N'ayme couleur sinon noir et obscure
Et n'a de verd ne de gayete cure
Or pleust aux Dieux que mon corps assez beau
Fust transformer pour cest heure en corbeau

Et mon colier vermeil et purpurin
Fust aussi brun que un more ou barbarin
Lors te plairay je et ma triste laideur
Me vauldroit mieux que ma belle verdeur
Viengne quelqu'un qui de noir attrement
Taigne mon corps et mon accoustrement

Las! si je parle ou siffle et me degoise
Et qu'en chantant je maine douce noyse
Ce n'est par moy mais par toy rejouir
Je me tairay—Son ne me veult ouyr
Ains qu'on me laisse en ce lieu solitaire
Si serey dict quand trop m'esvertue
Le Pellican qui de son bec se tue

He reminds her when she fed and caresssed him, how intimate he was in her chamber, seeing her dress, and

Tresser ton cheif tant cler et tant dore

speaks of his jealousy when her *two* husbands embraced her before him, yet never reproached her, and how he liked to see her dance and smile, and his enumeration of her accomplishments proves that such attractions were hers:—

Bien me plaisoit la veoir chanter et rire
Dancer jouer tant bien lire et escrire
Paindre et *pourtraire accorder monocordes*
Dont bien tu scez faire bruire les cordes

Par quoi je suis par toi mis en oubly
O mon las cueur d'amour trop ennobly

He then laments that now he is left alone—no—not alone:—

Avec moy, *le quin** et *la marmotte*
Dont la tristeur desia leur mort devotte
Ha! Marguerite—(a peu diray je ingratte)
Je te puis bien faire ores mes reproches
Puis que de mort je sentz la les approches

He goes on to speak of the loss of his master, the Duc, "et la Duchesse après," and of all her troubles that he had shared, from "Zelande to Grenade," and prettily orders his burial:—

Au moins Princesse
Je te requiers et te supplie un don
C'est que mon corps n'y sort *ensepuely*
Ains le mectz en quelque lieu joly
Bien tapissé de diverses florettes
Ou pastoureaulx divisent d'amourettes
Ou les oyseaulx jargonnent et flaiollent
Et papillons bien coulourez y vollent
Près d'un ruisseau ayand und argentine
Autour duquel les arbres font courtine
De feuille verd de joly eglantiers
Et d'aupespines florantz par les sentiers

His tomb being thus made—

S'il advient lors que pelerins passans
Cherchans ombrage et les lieux verdissans
Pres de ma tumbe en esté se reposent
Et que dessus la pierre marches n'ose
(Veu que sacrée à Venus sera elle)
Vers eux viendra quelque gente pucelle
Gardant brebis par les preaux herbus &c.

"If," he continues, "they are seeking shade and drinking at the fountain, they will tell the tale of his

* Monkey.

life. How he left his native land, by the *banks of the Nile*, and forgot his own language to learn others for her pleasure—all but German, which he would have learned, had his death not arrived. Being left alone, abandoned by his lady, he died, and his tomb was made in this spot, on which the rain and the dew falls. He intends at first, in his despair, to give himself up to a hungry hound, who watches him; but fears, when torn to pieces, his lady will be shocked—so prefers dying of grief.

EPITAPH.

Soubz ce tumbel qui a *dur conclave*
Gist l'amant Verd et le très noble esclave
Dont le hault cœur de vraye amour pure yvre
N'a peu souffrir perdre sa dame et vivre
"De Peu Assez"

The second epistle is all joy at her return. He then tells how he went to Enfer and Paradise, guided by Mercury—a sort of pretty parody on Dante. In the first he sees all cruel beasts, amongst them—

Ce *hobin* malheureux et mauldict
Est le dolent par lequel on perdit
Jadis helas trop tôt la noble mère
Dame Marye*

Being introduced by Mercury as a gentle lover, who had died for love of his mistress, he is allowed to go to Paradise with his guide.

He seats himself in an orange-tree, and *speculates*. Gazing on the lovely prospect, a beautiful bird, with

* It will be remembered that Mary died in consequence of a fall from her horse.

enamelled wings, comes courteously and perches on the same branch; others join and welcome him. In an instant the whole tree glitters with these beautiful creatures. The "Esprit Vermeil," above all, is kind to him, and does the honours of the garden. He announces himself as the friend on earth of Sigismond, the uncle of Maximilian, who had presented him to Mary of Burgundy.

"Ta dame et mère aimable Marie
Dont le trépas fit mainte ame marrie"

The Esprit Vermeil was killed by a cruel dog. He begs they will all sing in honour of his lady, and at his request a whole choir strikes up an inconceivable melody of all voices, from bass to highest soprano.

The birds are then passed in review, amongst whom are:—

Le Passeron de l'ange de Catulle
L'Oye du Capitoul
Gerfault blanc du hault Roy des Romains
Le Coq de St. Pierre
Le Porc-epic de gloire Orleanique
Et la très riche Hermine Britanique

Savoye aussi le coursier du Roy Charles
Que meilleur n'eust de Romme jusqu'en Arles
Aussi pour ce qu'il etoit noble et bon
Honore le Madame de Bourbon

Then follow a crowd, such as: Charlemagne's eagle, Plato's bees, the fly of Virgil, the "*langoustes*" of St. John (locusts), the camel whose skin clothed him, the she ass of the Virgin and ox of the manger, the Paschal lamb, Jason's sheep, St. Val's *l'aurs* (bear), the hog of St. Anthony, the dog of St. Roch, the bear that nursed

Ouason (Orson), "La louve benigne" of Rome, the lion of St. Jerome, the horse of St. George, "Montaigne le fort et Bucephel," "Le roux Bayart qui n'est plus en Ardennes," the fawn of Sertorius, the noble serpent of Lusignan (mother of Kings and Princes), the lambs of St. Marguerite, the stags of St. Eustache and St. Hubert, "et maintes autres bestelettes."

After seeing all these, he one day observes a dolphin in the sea, the same that bore Arion; when a stag and a doe, coming to bring a message, suddenly appear, having round their necks collars with the arms of Marguerite; and he is told by Mercury that the Princess is inspired to procure peace throughout the world.

De mettre accord pas moyens bien decens
Entre tous roys chrestiens ducs et princes
Porquoy tu es en toutes leurs provinces
Dicte à bon droict *La Princesse de Paix*
Gemme de prix perle Margueritique
Et pour tout dire il n'y a nul au monde
Qui n'ayme ouyr ta renommée munde
Tesmoign en est (à fin que autres je passe)
La noble ermine en richesse oultrepasse
La Dame illustre et portant sceptre en France
Laquelle eut dueil de ma griefve souffrance
Anne est son nom de Bretons grand Duchesse
Anne aux François bien heureuse Princesse

The Amant Verd knows it is not for his own merits but for the love he bore Marguerite that Anne pities him, and he ends by wishing to both long life, and that both "En heur prospère et enfin de vos jours monter lassus au Paradis celeste," as he had done to the Earthly Paradise. He concludes all by this remark:—

Ici prent fin le mien joyeusx escripre
Dont on verra plusieurs gens assez rire.

CHAPTER XXXV.

EMBROIDERY—LETTER FROM ANNE—BRUNET AND LUZLIERE—LOUISE AND ANNE—IGNORANCE AND ENLIGHTENMENT—SPECIAL PLEADING IN SERMONS—ILLUMINATORS—THE FAMOUS HEURES—ANNE'S MUNIFICENCE—INTERFERENCE IN CHURCH MATTERS—THE ATTACHMENT TO THE BRETONS—LA PERCHE AUX BRETONS—FESTIVALS AND MARRIAGES—FACETIOUS MESSAGES—MYSTERY—THE WEDDING BANQUET—THE JOUSTS—THE BISHOP OF GURCE—THE GRATUITY.

ANNE OF BRITTANY not only encouraged literature and learning, but was diligent in the occupations peculiar to her sex. She is celebrated for her works in embroidery and tapestry, and expected her ladies to busy themselves in such industrious amusements, setting them an example which, of course, it became both a duty and a fashion to follow. Hilarion de la Coste, in his Eloge on the Queen, particularly mentions that "with all her ladies and maids of honour she occupied herself in *broderie et tapisserie;*" and he adds that these productions of their needles were kept with great care in numerous churches and religious houses of the kingdom.

Brantôme speaks of having seen, at St. Denis, a cope covered with pearls and embroidery, which the Queen

had worked, intending it as a present to Pope Leo the Tenth.

That Anne took great interest in the conduct and welfare of her ladies there is no doubt, nor that their parents and relations depended on her judgment. Unfortunately, there are scarcely any of her letters to be found, and that distinguished archæologist, M. Paulin Paris, informs the author that except one which he obligingly communicated, none of any importance exist in the Royal Library at Paris, though there are several signed by Anne, without the date of the year, on subjects of little historical interest. In one of them the Queen thanks the governess of her daughter for some account of the child's health; and in another she acknowledges with thanks a message from the King's Chamberlain, M. de Montmorency, giving her news of the King.

That which M. Paulin Paris has furnished is also addressed to M. de Montmorency, and, if not all written with the Queen's hand, he considers is certainly concluded and signed by her. It relates to the establishment of one of her ladies, and is altogether a letter of business:—

"M. de Montmorency,—Le Maistre d'hostel Brunet m'a faict porter parolle, puis naguères, que si l'on luy veult donner en mariage Luzlière vostre niepce qui à vaillant en argent comptant et en bon meuble de XVIII. à XX.^{m} francs et que dès à present il donnera le tout à vostre dicte niepce avecques III.^{c} liv. de rente qu'il à acquises. Et s'il se mouroit avant elle, il la fera usufruictière de tous et chascuns de ses biens, et encores d'avantaige; s'il luy peult le tout donner il le

fera et tient myeulx de XVI.c livres de rente. Il à d'estat du Roy mil ou douze cent livres et est bon menagier comme scavez. M'a faict supplier d'en escripre à Mons. de Beaunoys et à vous et de guyder l'œuvre de cette cause. Je vous ay bien voulu adverter dudict propos affin que si vous voyez que le dict mariage soit agréable à la mère vous et autre ses parens en m'en advertissant je le feray conclure.

Si aussy n'avez vouloir d'y entendre, je vous prie, par ce paige que je vous envoye expressement, le me faire sçavoir et que le dict propos soit tenu secret, car le dict Brunet m'en a fort faict supplier. Il me semble qu'il faict party moult avantageux et croy qu'il le fera tout tiendre (?) que l'on vouldra, car il dit qu'il n'aura autre heritière qu'elle.

Et à Dieu Monsieur de Montmorency, qui vous ayt en sa garde. Escript à Bloys le sixième jour de Novembre.

* *Si vous este doppinion dud. mariage et combien que la mère ne le veueille je ne larray pas de le faire parachever.*

ANNE.

(Contresigné) SAPIN."

It would be interesting to know whether the marriage on which the Queen had evidently set her heart, between the maistre d'hotel Brunet and Luzlière ever took place, but "the rest is —— silence."

It has been asserted, but apparently without authority, that the Queen, during the absence of Louis in Italy, corresponded with him in Latin, both in verse and prose,

* This part is in the Queen's own hand.

but no letters or verses of hers of this kind exist in the Royal Library at Paris, or they would not have escaped the vigilance of M. Paulin Paris, who knows of none, and whose opinion is that modern historians have confounded Louise de Savoye with Anne of Brittany, the former being really learned for her time, and having written in Latin as well as in French. Her journal, however, interesting though it be, exhibits none of the knowledge or style which is said to have distinguished her, and which, or its reputation, might have been one of the sources of jealousy between the clever mother of Francis I. and his Royal mother-in-law Anne.

Louise, who was very subtle, is evidently anxious that the world should disbelieve the reports of their disputes, as the following entry in her journal shows, which indeed goes far to disprove the alleged fact:—

"9 Jan., 1514.—Anne Reine de France alla de vie à trespas. Me laissa l'administration de ses biens de sa fortune et de ses filles: mesmement de Madame Claude (Reine de France), et femme de mon fils, *laquelle jai honnorablement et aimablement conduicte, chacun le sait, verité le cognoist, experience le demonster, aussi fait publique renommée.*"

She does not express any regret at the death of Anne, but merely enters it thus:—

"Le Lundy, 9 Jan.—La Reine Anne trepassa à Blois et le Mardy, après diner, à Cognac, mon fils et moy en feusmes advertis entre cinq et six heures avant midi."

It is very likely that Louise de Savoye was more than commonly accomplished, and that during her long

widowhood she employed her leisure in the pursuits of literature: but that Anne of Brittany, though evidently full of admiration for learning, should have been herself highly instructed is less probable. In her infancy she was doubtless carefully educated by Madame de Laval, but her public career began at the age of fourteen, and from that period, and during her first marriage she had but few opportunities of improvement. Charles was, as has been sufficiently seen, entirely uneducated when he came to the Crown, and in spite of his desire to redeem lost time, his restless spirit must have too often weaned him from study to permit of his making much progress, nor could Anne have done much more. That she had native genius and inherent talent, observation, tact, and appreciation of learning, there can be no doubt; and, consequently, she might well have a reputation superior to the mere knowledge which circumstances had deprived her of. The struggle between ignorance and enlightenment was just beginning to become violent, and without question, the patronage and love of literature of Charles, Louis, and Anne prepared the way to the triumph of the reign of Francis I.

A modern historian* remarks, "Le recueil des lettres de Louis XII. prouve qu'il s'exprimoit avec toute la justesse et la netteté que son siecle comportoit. Sa conversation etoit spirituelle et amusante, son esprit net, et ses réparties justes."

The style of the authors of the day may be judged of by the specimens from their works already given;

* M. Dreux du Radier: *Tablettes.*

that of the popular preachers and writers on serious subjects was so extravagant, as to shock all modern notions. That much which was advanced by them was disapproved by persons of better judgment is shown by the censure fulminated against such critics as impious. The most ridiculous questions of law were introduced into the fashionable sermons, such as, "Whether the legacies of Lazarus were valid, after his restoration to life?" The pleader, on this occasion, is called "Accurse." And in one, by a preacher of the name of Bartoli, a complaint is reported as made against the Virgin Mary before the tribunal of Heaven, in which she is arraigned by the Devil for introducing *novelties* into the world. This is called "Complainte en cas *de saine et de novelleté.*"

The more full of chimeras dire a book could be stuffed, and the more *macaronic* and burlesque the style could be rendered, the more admirers it obtained. This bad taste lasted long in France, and required the satire of Rabelais to extinguish it, as well as the invectives of Erasmus, who wrote against "sornettes decorées du titre de piété."

That the arts both of painting, sculpture, and architecture, occupied much of the attention of Anne and both her husbands, the monuments of their time, still existing in great numbers, sufficiently prove; and amongst the most elegant may be classed the beautiful art of miniature and illumination, then at the height of perfection,* as the inimitable book of "Heures," gene-

* The art of painting and illuminating had long been held in great esteem, and was, about this period, at the height of excellence. In the

rally said to have been presented by Louis XII. to the Queen, show to have been the case. This exquisite

"Comptes de Louis XI." is the following entry, which shows that the grim King took pleasure in such elegant works. It is curious, as preserving the names of some of the artists:—

"A Jehan Bourdichon, peintre et enlumineur, la somme de 20 livres ung sol 3 deniers tournois en 15 escus d'or, à luy ordonné par le dit seigneur au dit mois, pour avoir escript et paint d'azur, cinquante grans rouleaulx que le dit Sieur à fait mettre en plusieurs lieux dedans le Plessis du Parc, esquels est escript MISERICORDIAS DOMINI IN ÆTERNUM CANTABO, et pour avoir paint et pourtraict d'or d'azur et aultres couleurs trois anges de trois pieds de haulteur ou environ qu'ils tiennent chascun un des dits rouleaulx en leur main, et est escrit le dit *misericordia:* pour cecy, par vertu du dit roole du Roy et quittance du dit Bourdichon escripte le 21 jour d'Avril, 1480, avant Pasques cy rendu, la somme de 24 livres 1 sol. 3 deniers.

A Regnault Sullole escripvain, demourant à Tours, la somme de 12 livres 16 sols 8 deniers, pour *deux livres de médecine* qu'il a escripts au dit Seigneur el pour les *enluminer et relier.*

1481.—A Jean Bourdichon, peintre demeurant à Tours, 8 livres tournois pour avoir pourtraict, et paint *en parchemin* 24 paintures, on il a pourtraict à chacun *ung basteau plusieurs demoiselles et mariniers.*

A Regnault Feulole 9 livres 12 sols 6 deniers pour le paiement de 9 cayers de parchemin escripts *en lettres bastarde,* plusieurs *chapitres du livre de Rasis* et ung petit traicté du régime pour la personne du dit sieur, pour avoir enluminé plusieurs lettres d'or d'azur et pour avoir relié et cousu en ung livre et iceluy avoir couvert de vélour cramoisy.

A Jehan Bourdichon 8 livres 5 deniers pour avoir pourtrait et paint de divers couleurs en 5 *peaulx de parchemin colez ensemble* la ville de Caudebec en Normandie.

Pour avoir fait escrire ung livre en parchemin nommée LE PAPALISTE, iceluy enluminer d'or et d'azur en 9 histoires riches, relier et couvrir 30 escus d'or.

A Jaquet François *faiseur d'imaiges* et Jehan Bourdichon peintre et enlumineur pour un imaige de bois de Monseigneur St. Martin a cheval *et le povre,* pour mettre en la Chapelle du Plessis du Parc 18 escus d'or à Bourdichon pour avoir *estoffé* et paint le dit St. Martin le cheval et le povre de fin or moulu et de fin azur et aultres couleurs, riches, 20 escus d'or.

A J. Bourdichon pour avoir paint ung tabernacle de fin or et d'azur.

A Jacob de Litement, paintre du Roy." This artist seems to have painted images of Saints; he is recorded as having performed the image of St. Michael and the Dragon, with a great and several little suns shedding

specimen of a charming style of painting is well known to all curious visitors at Paris,* where it was long preserved in the Royal Library, and shown with courtesy to those who desired to behold it. It is of late made even more public by being placed in the new Museum of Curiosities and Antiquities, arranged, it must be confessed, somewhat heterogeneously, at the Louvre.

Every page of this beautiful manuscript is adorned with miniatures, finished with the greatest nicety: the months having each suitable representations of agricultural subjects, the margins being strewn with flowers, leaves, and insects, belonging to the seasons, perfectly copied from nature, and drawn with admirable correctness, presenting the richest and most delicate colours, and altogether executed with all the precision, taste, and grace of the most refined period of art.

Anne and her two daughters, Claude and Reneé, are portrayed in one of the superb miniatures, kneeling before an altar, and as, doubtless, the painter has attempted the likenesses of the three illustrious ladies, this precious volume is thus rendered even more valuable. Behind the group is St. Anne, who protects them according to the approved manner of all religious paintings of this sort.

Amongst the traits which distinguish the Queen-Duchess, that of her liberality is not the least. Louis

rays. This work was overlaid with fine gold on each side, and for each of the suns he receives twelve sols tournois.

Yvon Fourbault is a painter of banners, and is paid for the images painted on white of N. D. and St. Denis and his two companions in martyrdom.

* Dr. Dibdin has described it at length, in his "*Biographical Decameron.*"

XII. was, in his own time, considered penurious, rather because he indulged his followers in less extravagance when King than he had been accustomed to do while Duke of Orleans, than from any real want of generosity. As the whole administration of the revenues of Brittany was left in the hands of Anne to dispose of as she thought fit, she was able to perform many munificent acts which supplied the King's deficiency in that respect. For instance, on his various returns from the expensive Italian campaigns she always made it a point to meet him at Lyons and then inquired minutely into the wants of the officers whose fortunes, she was aware, were inadequate to meet the charges to which they were put. Not one of these did she neglect, but gave them the most useful and liberal supplies, so that she gained popularity for her husband amongst those he most wished to attach.

To the famous General, Jean Jacques Trivulce, who so successfully fought his battles in Italy and sent him Ludovico Sforza a prisoner to Lyons, Anne gave large gifts and showed much favour. Nor did she leave out the family of La Trimouille, whom the King also distinguished, nobly forgiving the share that one of them had in capturing him formerly at the battle of St. Aubin.

But there was one subject on which the Queen exhibited a firmness or obstinacy which occasioned considerable annoyance to the King and discontent in the country. Her religious scruples were continually shocked by the contentions in which Louis was engaged against the power of the Pope, for since Julius had succeeded

Alexander Borgia, a more open enemy had been found in that ambitious head of the Church; and, in spite of his declared hatred to France and resistance to her power, in spite of all the lengths the Pope had gone in excommunicating the King and all engaged in the Italian wars, her conscience induced her to desire that Louis should submit to his exactions, and, by her perseverance, she obtained much from the tenderness of the King, who wished to avoid giving her pain, that his subjects disapproved.

Louis, after the battle of Aignadel, or La Giaradda,* which he gained from the Venetians in 1509, was master of Rome as of all Italy, and could have taken possession of the Imperial city, but that he listened to the representations of the Queen, who then, and on future occasions, induced him to give orders to his successful generals to respect the States of the Church.

There were loud murmurs in France at this, which was considered ill-timed leniency, particularly when it was found that the Pope became more and more unscrupulous in his enmity towards France, and that, in the fulminations of his wrath against the country, Brittany was excepted from denunciation.

She was, in fact, always suspected by the French of favouring her duchy too much on all occasions, and being too careless of the advantages of her French subjects in general, though it does not appear that such was really the case. That she had a natural preference for her Bretons is scarcely a reproach, and Louis used

* Dreux du Radier.

playfully to rally her on the subject by calling her his *Bretonne.*

She appointed her chief guard of honour from those of her own nation, and the hundred Breton gentlemen who composed it were always in readiness at her command. There was a certain terrace in the Court of the Castle of Blois, where this gallant band were always stationed. It was long called "La Perche aux Bretons,"* in consequence of a gracious pleasantry of the Queen, who used to say, looking up to the spot, and observing her faithful followers armed and waiting :—

"Voila mes Bretons sur la Perche qui m'attendent."

She was fond of State, and liked to be attended with all the honours of her rank; on one occasion she had nearly paid the penalty of ostentation, for it is recorded in the journal of Louise de Savoye that, passing over the bridge of Monsoreau with all her guards, the planks gave way just as her litter had crossed, and she narrowly escaped being precipitated into the moat.

The fondness of the Queen for public solemnities, where she appeared in all her pomp and dignity, is proved by the accounts of the historians of the time. St. Gelais records, with evident pleasure, the grand doings at Blois on the occasion of several marriages of

* There is no trace of La Perche aux Bretons left at the finely-restored Château de Blois; it was destroyed to make room for the disfigurements directed by Gaston, brother of Louis XIII. The terrace was raised eight or nine feet from the court, and was approached by a flight of steps; there was a communication from it to the King's cabinet by a small chamber adjoining.—Dreux du Radier.

persons of rank, the Queen taking great interest in the proceedings.

After one of his returns from Italy, when the Genoese were subdued, Louis XII. caused a grand festival to take place in honour of the union of "Guillaume Paléologue, Marquis de Montferat, et Anne d'Alençon." All the Ambassadors of the friendly Powers were present at this wedding, and it was on this occasion that Louis forgot his courtesy so far as to allow the Venetian Ambassador to be deprived of his place at table, although —as he still retained his position at the Court, in spite of the signing of the league of Cambray, which made the two Powers enemies—he was entitled to consideration.

But a still grander display of magnificence was to be seen at the marriage of Marguerite d'Angoulême with Charles, Duke of Alençon, which took place at Blois in 1509. The pair received the nuptial benediction in the Church of St. Sauveur, from the Archbishop of Sens, the King himself having taken the bride to mass and brought her back; but it was the Queen who alone presided at the banquet.*

There are some features named at this feast which mark the manners of the time. The Sovereign and the Princes of the Blood were served in vessels of gold, the other guests, including prelates and persons of the highest rank, in silver.

The letters written by the Ambassadors of Maximilian at this time to Marguerite of Austria, contain amusing details of what was then going on at the Court

* *Histoire de Blois*, by Touchard-Lafosse.

of Anne and Louis.* The treaty of Cambray was then pending.

It appears that Louis was very facetious with M. de Borgo, the Ambassador, and, when he received him, remarked that it would give him greater pleasure to receive and embrace the Princess herself; which gallantry is duly repeated to Marguerite in the letters, together with familiar reminiscences of the jocose King which mark the manners of the age. Louis desired M. de Borgo to remind his mistress of the days of childhood she spent at the French Court, and of the romps they used to have together; adding that if she came to visit him, he would whisper certain things in her ear which would amuse her, as recollections of their childish sports. The Ambassador does not hesitate to relate to *sa très redoubtée Dame* the exact words of the King, which are by no means remarkable for refinement.

These curious letters are written and signed by Mercurin de Gattènare, Andre de Borgo, Philippe Dales, and Jean Caulier; some being dated from Bourges, others from Amboise.

"Bourges, 1509.

"The King and Queen left this morning, and we were to follow them to Moulins, with despatches. We went to the Queen, to know if she had further commands for us towards you. She showed herself full of good will and affection for you, saying all kinds of amiable things of you, and begging that you would do

* *Lettres du Roy Louis XII. et du Cardinal d'Amboise.* Brusselle, 1712. *Bib. Leber* at Rouen.

all in your power to maintain peace, and saying that she would write to you, and sent me the letter afterwards, *which I forward.** She desired me also to recommend to your notice the affairs of her nephew, the Prince of Orange, and Madame la Princesse. And as for le Bastard de Liége, she said she hoped you would take her reply in good part, and that the girl was no longer under her control."

What follows seems to involve some mystery, and suggests the uneven course of some love affair connected with one of the Queen's ladies.

"She says the father keeps her so close that it was neither in the power of the King or herself to deliver her over *to such a gallant*, and that it was not known whether she was dead or living, but it was said by many that *she was dead*."

Other letters inform Marguerite that Louis XII. had allowed the establishment of posts, so that there would be no difficulty in their communicating with her relative to the prolongation of the truce for Gueldres. In several are accounts of the entertainments at Blois, and how there was a quarrel for precedence between the Ambassadors, in which the Spanish gets the triumph. They represent themselves as treated with great consideration, and were invited by the Queen, who particularly distinguishes them, to accompany her to chapel on the marriage of Mademoiselle d'Angoulême, and also to dinner, which is thus described:—

"On the left hand side of the Queen there were, first,

* This letter of Anne's is not given in the *Recueil*.

Madame de Bourbon, the elder, at a little distance from her, then, in order, Madame d'Alençon, the elder, Madame de Bourbon, the younger, Madame d'Angoulême, *la Duchesse de Longueville femme de M. Dunoys*, Madame de *Talibout*, Mademoiselle de Bourbon, the Princess of Orange, Madame de la Trimouïlle, the Marquise de Rotelin, and the Princess de Talomont.

"The Queen had her dish apart, as also the bride and Madame de Bourbon *la vieille;* the others ate in common, as well men as ladies, and the three separate dishes of the Royal ladies, as well as those of us, Ambassadors, were all served in gold, and the rest in silver. There was at the other side of the hall, at the lower end, in the centre, another table, where was the bridegroom, M. d'Angoulême, and the other Princes of the Blood, and the rest of the ladies. And the Queen gave to the heralds and trumpeters a great pot, *which was said to be of gold, but at least it was gilt*, and they went about the hall crying '*Largesse.*'

"After dinner, there was a little dancing, and the young Ambassador of Arragon danced with the bride at the desire of the Queen, and then two others danced afterwards, and when the dancing was over, we were conducted into another separate chamber to see the jousts: M. d'Angoulême and eight others holding the lists, together with a great and splendid company, all dressed in cloth of gold: others in yellow cloth of silk held the *pas* at the great joust, and the King himself was amongst them, dressed the same, and served M. d'Angoulême throughout the joust."

The writer goes on at great length to describe the

solemnity, and how the lances were small, owing to the Princes who held the lists being so young. The Legate is spoken of as standing at a window to behold all at his ease, as he was indisposed.

"The next day came the bridegroom, dressed in white satin, and all the combatants also dressed in white armour; they fought on foot at the barrier."

It appears that the Queen and her ladies highly enjoyed these displays which "gave them an extremely good idea of what war was," and by them the prizes were distributed.*

In a letter, dated in the following year, from Jean Caulier to the Archduchess Marguerite occur the following characteristic passages:—

"Since I wrote last the Ambassador de Borgo and I went to sleep at Amboise, and when we were a quarter of a league from Blois, M. le Duc d'Albanye, by the King's command, came in a boat to welcome us, and, in passing Blois, the Queen sent to visit us with a present." This present is thus recorded: "*quatre grand lux*, deux *foursières*, des *oistres* et ung pannier de marée avec trois barils de vin de viel de Baune et d'Orleans, et trois flacons de vin nouveau et *de son pain de bouche*."

At the same time, the Queen regretted that the Bishop of Gurce,† who was in this voyage, had not passed through the town, that she might have suitably entertained him.

The King and Queen, however, it seems, did afterwards receive the Bishop, who had been sent by Austria, and whom they wished to honour, and Louis took him

* See also St. Gelais. † Query: Goritz?

all over the Castle of Amboise, as a modern and un-Royal host might have done, and showed him all the improvements and buildings of the late King Charles.

The Bishop was highly gratified, and begged to see the Queen, that he might deliver to her a letter from Maximilian, with which he was charged for her; the writer, who seems attached to the suite of the bishop, describes Anne, when he was introduced, as standing in her chamber, near a window, *très forte enchainte* (for she was within three weeks of her confinement with her daughter Renée), and Madame Claude near her. She received him "forte sagement et honnestement," and also the letters from Maximilian and Marguerite, congratulating her on her approaching confinement.

"She asked," says the writer, "how you were, and if she could please you in anything, she said she would do so with all her heart. The King will send you word when the accouchement takes place," and he ends by advising the Archduchess to give "*un bon pot de vin ou gracieuseté*" to the messenger who brings the news, as it *may help their affairs.*

CHAPTER XXXVI.

BIRTH OF THE PRINCESS RENEE—CAPTAIN PREGENT—THE "REGENT" AND THE "CORDELIERE"—DESTRUCTION OF BOTH VESSELS—REPRISALS—DEATH OF GEORGE D'AMBOISE—HUMILITY—THE HOUSE AT BLOIS THE CHATEAU GAILLON—THE BRIDE'S DOWER—DEVOTIONAL FEARS—THE NEW POPE—THE QUEEN'S HEALTH.

In the year 1510, the Princess Renée was born, another disappointment to the Royal pair, who were continually disappointed of a son, for each of those whom Anne had, after her second marriage, died in infancy as the first two had done. Renée was afterwards distinguished as the Duchess of Ferrara, at whose Court Calvin, and many of the new Protestants whose opposition to Roman oppression and error involved them in difficulties, sought shelter. It is remarkable that the daughter of Anne, who so strenuously supported the Pope, should have taken views so opposite, but she was an infant when her mother died, and already the great Protestant movement had begun, which the enlightened mind of Renée induced her to follow when she could act on her own judgment.

Machiavel, that most wily of politicians, came to Blois on a second mission from the Florentine Republic this same year, and was in time to offer his congratula-

tions to the Queen on the birth of her daughter; soon after which Louis was again engaged more deeply than ever in his wars, his foes seeming to increase from year to year, until, at length, he had almost the whole of Europe against him, and maintained the most disastrous conflicts which threatened to deprive him of all the conquests and glory so much vaunted by the Court poets.

Louis had now to number England amongst his enemies, and the Queen exercised her power as Duchess of Brittany in order to defend the coasts of France against the attacks of so dangerous a foe. She took the greatest interest in the preparation of her fleet, and advised personally with her captains; the whole navy was devoted to her, and she is considered to have done great good to the naval service by her exertions and energy.

One of the captains in command, sent to check the English, was named Pregent, he was from Provence, and had great reputation for gallantry; he took the command of a fleet which was stationed off the Raz de St. Mahé, the whole coast being infested by English marauders who, from time to time, landed in Brittany and Picardy, and ravaged the country, burning, pillaging, and destroying without mercy. D'Argentré relates that the Admiral of the English, in his vessel called the Regent, superintended these operations. "Now there was," says the chronicler, "a certain Breton captain: named Herué Primoguet, who had the command of a great vessel, built at the expense of Queen Anne herself, and which was named La Cordelière. He went with

this vessel and the rest to encounter the English, when, having met, a furious contest took place between the two fleets, but the English, being strongest, got the better, and Primoguet was obliged to abandon the fight, the English Admiral pursuing him to the very entrance of the Bay of Brest, where he took refuge, much annoyed at his evil fortune.

"His first care was to repair his ships, which had been a good deal injured in the fray, and then to sally forth again to sea, in order to take a speedy revenge. He was not long before he found the Admiral and his fleet, and, attacking them with extraordinary hardihood, speedily sank several ships, while the Admiral was so grievously wounded in the mêlée that he soon afterwards died."

This happened on St. Laurence's day, and Primoguet found that, with only twenty vessels, he had to encounter no less than eighty much larger; nevertheless, he fought on, "d'un cœur hardi et désesperé." Great damage was done on both sides, but at length the Regent and the Cordelière grappled, when the English, finding that their danger was imminent, cast fire from the maintop into the French ship, which instantly took fire, so that there was no hope of escape for those within, who endeavoured to save themselves by leaping into the waves.

Primoguet, aware that his vessel must be destroyed, was resolved that the other should perish with it, and turned the burning side of his ship towards the enemy in such a way that the wind blew the flames to them. Almost immediately he was gratified by observing that

the English ship had caught fire, and now in both it raged fearfully.

When Primoguet beheld this, he mounted to the top, and seeing no means of escape, cast himself, all armed as he was, from that height into the sea, where he was drowned, the weight of his armour preventing his swimming, and the violence of the fire keeping all assistance at a distance.

"Thus perished," continues d'Argentré, "no less than two thousand men in the two ships."

After this disaster, the English continued their depredations as before, and ventured to attempt a landing at Penmarch, but there they met with Captain Pregent, and that famous Captain of the sea, Charles d'Artigues, who chased them back to England, where the French landed, and burnt several villages, and doing as much damage as they could. Pregent, however, was so much wounded in this expedition, that he soon after died of his wounds.

"Ce combat," says the chronicler, "a ésté escrit par les estrangers, comme de Paulo Joüio, esvecque de Nocerre, et de plusieurs poètes."

It appears that Anne was always ready to reward gallant actions, and one of her captains, Mondragon, a Spaniard, she made Governor of the Castle of Milan, where she afterwards lost him, as he was killed by an explosion of gunpowder.

Not only did she attend to the manners of the young ladies about her, but however much she admired gallantry in her officers, and courage in the field, she is said to have discountenanced a rough or careless bear-

ing* amongst the young nobles, who dared not indulge in such a demeanour in her presence.

The continuation of the Italian campaigns had, of course, given a tone of boldness to the manners of the youthful knights which she found it necessary to repress.

Louis was still in the midst of his Italian contentions, at open war with Rome, and under a sentence of excommunication from Julius II., who, though by an edict of the Council of Pisa, suspended from the Papal chair, refused to submit, and treated his Royal foe with contempt. The Venetians, so long at enmity with him, finding their present allies even more dangerous than France, had agreed to a reconciliation; but a great blow had fallen on the King, in the death of his most cherished friend and Minister the great Cardinal d'Amboise. The anxious hope of Louis, in his quarrel with Pope Julius, was to be able to name a successor to the Papal dignity, who would be entirely devoted to his interests, in the person of the Cardinal, in whom he placed the most entire reliance, and who, by his fidelity and devotion, deserved all the confidence and friendship that had been bestowed on him; for even when the Cardinal allowed his own advantages to guide his advice to the King, he did so considering that they had both the same object, and that their interests were identical.

Of the ambition of George d'Amboise, the Sully of his time in other respects, there is no doubt, and it was encouraged by his admiring master. When, on his

* "*Nonchalante et casanière.*"—D'Argentré.

deathbed, he was attended by a simple monk named John, the magnificent prelate, at length made fully aware of the vanity of human struggles for power, is said to have exclaimed: "Ah, brother John, brother John why, my good friend, was I not content to have been all my life a brother John!"

But though the excellent Cardinal died with such humility in his thought, Louis by no means allowed his memory to want honour, and everything that pomp and splendour could devise was lavished on his obsequies. He was buried with all the dignities attending a Royal interment, and it is recorded that no less than *eight thousand* priests attended the funeral procession.*

Every one who has visited Rouen must be well acquainted with the superb tomb erected to his memory, by his nephew, in the Cathedral of a city, which is itself, in so many of its buildings, a monument of the liberality and gorgeous taste of the princely churchman, whose fame was, in his time, only second to that of his grateful and affectionate patron and friend, whom he, in some respects, greatly resembled. His policy has been condemned and his vanity censured, but he acted honestly, was a sincere friend to the people, and gained them many advantages and privileges denied during former reigns, repressed the tyranny and extortion of the nobles, and established the strictest justice in the kingdom by his wise police regulations. He was mild in his manners and address, fond of obliging, and of infinite liberality.

At Blois is still shown a house which has no appear-

* *Histoire de Blois.*

ance of ever having been particularly splendid, adjoining the Castle. In this modest dwelling—for no apartments were assigned him in the Palace—George d'Amboise lodged when he was with the Court at Blois. From a balcony of this house, which overlooked one of the galleries of the Castle and was opposite to a window at which the King was accustomed to sit, the Cardinal-Minister held conference with his Master on State affairs. Nothing could be more unostentatious than this proceeding, and its simplicity is peculiarly pleasant to reflect upon.

But though his domicile was so simple at Blois, the Cardinal, in the splendid buildings erected under his auspices, showed the taste which contributed to introduce into France a new style of architecture, which, splendid though it was, and possessing merits of its own, was too often suffered to interfere with the beautiful and graceful forms of what is called Gothic. When applied to palaces and the ordinary dwellings of the rich, the elegant Italian style was quite in place, and it is only when it ventures to interfere with religious edifices, already consecrated by a different feeling, that its poverty and coldness are apparent.

The works of Giocondo, who was probably the architect of the Palais de Justice of Rouen, and those of his school, amongst whom is Paul-Ponce, as he is called in France, by whom the magnificent Château de Gaillon was partly built and decorated; besides the exquisite Hotel de Cluny, in Paris, other treasures of architectural skill, too many to enumerate, bear witness to the zeal in art of the Amboises, each of the brothers of

that large family having distinguished themselves in their undertakings of this sort. But above them all George d'Amboise deserved the name of the "Medici François" which has been given him, as the little that remains of the Château de Gaillon in particular may testify. One of the four façades of this fine work has been preserved, and is still to be seen in the Ecole des Beaux Arts in Paris, as well-known as any of the rescued treasures of the destructive Revolution. The very perfection of the new transition style is here to be traced, and, amongst the numerous decorations, not the least interesting are the ermines of Brittany accompanying the fleurs de lis of Louis XII. and his porcupine and device.

It is thought that the Château de Gaillon, which was a restoration and addition to one much older, was not finished at the death of George d'Amboise, which occurred at Lyons in 1510. He however superintended the building himself, and must have often resided there, as anecdotes respecting him are still rife in the neighbourhood—amongst them one which shows his character in the most amiable light.

It is related that a gentleman in the vicinity of Gaillon, wishing to give a dower to his daughter, offered a part of his land to the Cardinal, who agreed to give him the price demanded, which having done, he refused to take possession of the estate, requesting that it might be retained as a dower for the bride, and accompanying his generous gift with these words: "I prefer making a friend, to acquiring an estate."

After the death of the Cardinal d'Amboise, Louis

XII. could not resolve to give himself another Prime Minister, and acted on all future occasions on his own account; this he did in signing the treaty of reconciliation with the Venetians, at Blois.

But while the King and the Pope were carrying on such violent warfare, Queen Anne was exerting all her influence with her husband to induce him to listen to accommodation, and, in fact, to submit to the head of the Church. Her conscience had become alarmed, and she feared that a mortal sin was being committed by thus resisting the Papal authority; there were not wanting agents of Rome to stimulate the imprudent zeal of the Queen, and the gratitude of the Pope for her interference was shown in the circumstance which only too much betrayed it to the indignant nation, of the Queen's domain of Brittany being exempted in the sentence of excommunication hurled against France, dated the 13th of August, 1512.

Although Louis resisted her importunities as much as possible, and used every argument he could think of to prove to her that he was in the right, yet Anne would not give up the cause of religion which she imagined she was pleading. No doubt the lenity shown by Louis when, by his successes, Rome was in his power, was owing to the entreaties of the Queen.

The reverence shown by Anne towards the Church is apparent in many of her acts; amongst others is the cession made by her of her mansion near Chaillot, called "de Bretagne et de Nigeon," to St. François de Paule, who there established a house of his order.

When Leo X. succeeded Julius II., in 1514, Anne

found it easier to persuade Louis to listen to her representations, than she had done while Julius, in the plenitude of his pride, was continually irritating him, and he agreed to send bishops to the new Pope, in order to obtain the revocation of the anathema which had been fulminated against France. Louis considered that six bishops, besides four doctors of the Church, would be sufficient, but Anne exerted all her influence to induce him to show even more respect, by naming as many as eight.*

The new Pope was fully sensible of the compliment, and exulted in the submission to his will of so powerful an opponent; but the pride of France was greatly mortified, and murmurs against the influence which had obtained so great a triumph for the Pontiff were loud and discontented.†

It is probable that Louis reckoned it better policy to gain the favour of the new Pope, who might be induced to assist him, now that his affairs in Italy had become extremely confused, and his losses continual. But from this time his successes ceased, and one defeat followed another, till he had to deplore the loss of the whole of his former conquests. But a greater affliction than all his reverses in war was preparing for Louis, and one which he felt more sensibly than any he had experienced in his varied career.

The Queen's health had not been good since her last accouchement, at which time, it has been thought, her

* *Hist. of Louis XII.* Milan, 1755. (*Bib.* Leber.)

† M. de Thou is very severe on Anne on this occasion, speaking of her "devotion peu éclairée."

medical attendants were not sufficiently cautious in their treatment of her, probably acting ignorantly rather than neglectfully. D'Argentré remarks, that her great disappointment on the death of the last Dauphin had had a distressing effect on her spirits, so much so, that "*elle ne print plaisir à chose que ce fust.*" Nevertheless, her energy appears to have by no means decayed, to judge by the relation of de Fleuranges, who represents her, up to the last moment of her life, exerting herself in favour of the house of Austria.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

PROJECTS—THE QUEEN'S DEATH—THE SUDDEN SHOCK—THE KING'S MOURNING—DEMONSTRATIONS OF SORROW—THE QUEEN'S CAREER—LYING IN STATE—THE MIRACLE—THE PROCESSION TO ST. DENIS — THE HEART — INSCRIPTIONS — POPE LEO'S LETTER—EPITAPHS—THE UNIVERSITY OF PARIS—THE HERALD AT ARMS—THE CEREMONY OVER.

THE darling project of Anne of Brittany was that the house of Austria should be allied to France. She was not alone in her belief that such an alliance was the best policy for the country; several of the Ministers of Louis XII. thought the same, but the King himself by no means agreed with them. Although Anne had been forced to consent to the betrothal of her daughter Claude to the young Duke François, she continued to hope that the contract might yet be set aside in favour of the grandson of Maximilian, and, for her second daughter, Renée, she planned a marriage connecting her with the same house. Even while Louis was contending against the Emperor and the English King, his ally, while he was being defeated at Novara and at Guinegatte, the Queen still cherished hopes that when a reconciliation could be effected her plans would succeed, and she lost no opportunity of forwarding the

views she entertained. But she had been suffering greatly for some months, and her physicians saw the progress of her malady with much anxiety; nevertheless, as she was not yet thirty-seven years of age, they trusted to the strength of her constitution for her ultimate recovery, it being evident that their skill was baffled.

Louis had just returned from an unsuccessful campaign, and on reaching Blois was shocked to find how much the Queen's illness had increased during his absence, but still he did not apprehend immediate danger.

At this time the Sieur de Fleuranges relates, in his curious journal, of having been frequently summoned to interviews with the Queen, at her bed-side, and charged by her with messages to Maximilian. She had, it seemed, much still to say to "Le Jeune Aventureux," as he styles himself, and in spite of her severe illness, entreated him to linger on at the Court till she was better, as she desired to see him again "pour quelque menée qu'elle vouloit faire avec le Roy de Castile et de toute sa maison d'Autriche, et avoit le cœur merveilleusement affectionée à faire plaisir à ceste maison de Bourgogne."*

Fleuranges remarks that such being the Queen's desire, he consented to stay, although he was much pressed by private business; but expecting from day to daya new summons, he appears to have been not a little startled when five days only from the last message he had received, he heard that Anne of Brittany was no more!

* *Memoires de Fleuranges.*

This sad event occurred on the 9th of February, 1514.*

The grief and consternation of Louis at this sudden termination of a life in which all his happiness had long been bound up may be conceived. The death of the young wife of Maximilian, killed in that unfortunate hunting party so gaily begun,† could scarcely have been more unlooked for by her adoring husband. It is true that Anne had been languishing for a considerable time, but many causes might have contributed to this illness; it is even said that she was again about to become a mother, and neither he nor any one at the Court imagined that her sickness was of a fatal character; her physicians, although alarmed, do not appear to have pronounced on her danger, and the blow came with the more violence that no one could have anticipated it.

No details are given of her death, not even as much as the chroniclers of the time afford of that of poor Mary of Burgundy, who was able to leave her parting charges to her husband and her friends. The record of de Fleuranges is as follows:—

"Et empira la dicte royne si fort de sa maladie que cinq jours après elle mourut . . . que feust une grande perte à plusieurs gens de bien." He adds, "Et qui en feust *bien aise* ce fust M. d'Angoulême, pour ce *qu'elle lui estoit bien contraire en ses affaires, et ne fust jamais heure que ces deux maisons ne feussent en pique.*"

The ladies who surrounded the Queen in her last mo-

* New Style.

† See "*Memoirs of Mary the young Duchess of Burgundy*," by the Author. London: Bentley. 1853.

ments could not believe the extent of their loss, and, in the midst of their sighs and lamentation, indignantly accused her physicians of ignorance or neglect.

"The King," says Claude de Seyssel, "who had loved her so that in her he had placed all his pleasure and all his delight," was inconsolable, and, for many days, would allow no one to see him, refusing to wear the Royal dress of mourning violet, and insisting on following the example Anne herself had given in her widowhood, of being clothed in black, "comme le dernier de ses sujets." When he "looked up from the blindness of his sorrow," he admitted no one but those dressed, like himself, in black cloth; but it was long before he was able to do this, and then his only thought was to occupy himself with preparations for such a funeral as should prove to all France how deeply he lamented, and how much he wished to honour, the partner of his throne and of his heart, whom he had won with so much difficulty, and had so prematurely lost.

Sorrow, at that period, seemed to find consolation in outward demonstration, the more imposing as the grief was the more violent. This had been the case with Anne herself, and with Louis also on the death of the young King Charles, and now the distressed husband resolved that nothing should be spared to show his grief and that of his subjects for one so beloved.

It is mournful to retrace all the vain pomp and ceremony which replaced the life of the heiress of Brittany, on whom so much had depended, and from whom so much had been gained by France; whose life in her early years had been so stormy, whose happiness itself

had been, as it were, forced upon her, and whose conscience, singularly sensitive, had never permitted her to feel the bliss she bestowed; for the thought of the repudiated Jeanne, whose place she held, must have risen in her mind more frequently than Louis could have desired, and, at the death-bed of her sons, one after another, renewed pangs must have sent back her reflections in a channel whence they could not be diverted. Her life, under these circumstances, could not be considered happy, and, added to them, were the sorrows attending the frequent absences of her beloved husband on missions of the greatest danger to himself and the kingdom; the fear of his loss was ever before her, and the loss, too, of her adored Brittany. She felt sure that the successor of her husband, and his ambitious mother, would be inimical to her, and would endeavour to wrest from her all command in her own country, and her mind must have been ceaselessly agitated by these prospects. The wrong done, by her means, to Austria, she never could forget, or cease to regret, and her inability to repair it added to her vexation. She knew that she was less popular in France than in Brittany, and, these dangers constantly threatening her, must have left her with brief intervals of enjoyment. Those intervals were, however, complete in their happiness, for her union with Louis was one of uninterrupted affection and confidence, and had repaid her for the mortifications and disappointments of her early youth. To him she had cheerfully yielded all that she would fain have kept from Charles when he wooed her, not only as a stranger, but a foe: but from Louis she

received all she desired—his undivided love. Seldom had a Royal union been so perfect as that of Louis and Anne, and the sudden annihilation of a tie of fifteen years' duration left the widowed Louis a wreck. Yielding to the representations of his Ministers, and giving way to the supposed excellent policy of uniting the interests of England with his own, he married, within a year, the young sister* of Henry VIII., but, before another had closed, he had laid down the burthen of life, and left the wide field of fame and rule to Francis I.

But when Louis underwent the shock of that loss, for which he was so little prepared, the only consolation he could find was in demonstrations in honour of his late Queen.

For six days the body of Anne remained in the chamber in which she died; a concourse of ladies, lords, and priests surrounded the corpse, occupied ceaselessly in prayer. After this, for two days, dressed in Royal robes, the poor remains of what was once so loved was placed on a *lit de parade*, covered with a pall of cloth of gold, bordered with ermine, thirty-six ells long.

"The Queen," says the chronicles, "lay on her back, with her hands joined, having *white gloves*, and her

* De Fleuranges, after telling of the Queen's death, goes on to say, "This news was told in England by M. de Longueville, who was held prisoner there, and who was a man of wit and wisdom, in whom King Louis much confided, and still more in his brother, the first Duke of Longueville. The said Sieur, being prisoner in England, exerted himself so much between the parties (mena tellement l'affaire de porte en porte) that the marriage was concluded between Madame Mary, sister of the King of England, and the King of France, Louis, twelfth of the name."

crown on her head. Her robe and bodice were of purple velvet, edged with ermine, and her sleeves of cloth of gold, ornamented with precious stones. A large mantle, also of purple velvet and ermine, was attached to her shoulders. On two cushions, placed on the right and left of the Queen, were placed, on one side the sceptre, on the other the hand of justice."*

She was placed in her coffin eight days after her death, and it was remarked with wonder, at the time, that her features had undergone no alteration. This was looked upon as a miracle, permitted in consequence of her piety. "Pour avoir tant aimé et servi Dieu durant sa vie," say contemporary writers, "Dieu lui preservait sa beauté après sa mort."

For twenty-four days after this the usual ceremonies took place, the effigy being exposed in a chamber hung with black. "La tenture de cette salle," says the King-at-Arms, who narrates, "était de couleur dolente et mal plaisante à la veue des assistans; car ce fut velours noir enrichy d'orfrayes et armoyiées et remplies des armes de ladite dame, et *des cordelières de sa devise.*"

Every day all the Princesses, and great ladies of the Court, came to this solemn chamber to pray; and not an ecclesiastic from a monastery in the Blésois missed the occasion of repairing thither to sing "des *Libera* auprès de la defunte Reine."

This appetite seemed to "grow by what it fed on;" and we are next told of the transportation of the body, in solemn State, to the Church of St. Sauveur of Blois,

* M. de Saussaye. *Château de Blois.*

where it was placed in a *chapelle ardente*, lighted by no less than three thousand tapers. The funeral service was celebrated by the Cardinal de Bayeux; and the Prince de Chalais, who had been Chevalier d'Honneur of the late Queen, her Grand Master and Equerry, and her Ladies of Honour, together with the King-at-Arms and the Heralds, remained besides the corpse. Next day the orisons were resumed, and it was then that Maître Parny, the King's Confessor, pronounced the funeral oration, which, according to the custom of the time, began by the genealogy of the Queen, whose house he traced back to Brutus. He proceeded to say, that since she had lived thirty-seven years, it was proper that thirty-seven *éloges* of thirty-seven virtues should be consecrated to her memory. He wound up his very tedious discourse by grouping these thirty-seven virtues round a chariot, which, he said, was destined to carry the lamented Princess at once to Heaven. After this the body of the Queen remained at Blois, till her monument at St. Denis was prepared.*

At last the order was given that the funeral procession should quit Blois, and proceed towards the last resting place of Royalty, the Abbey of St. Denis. Then only ceased a lamentable ceremony, which had continued as long as the body remained in Blois. Every day the usual repasts were served up in the Queen's chamber, by all her officers, with the accustomed State, her table being covered with costly meats, and removed after due pause, while the empty chair of State stood

* Fleuranges.

there in mockery of the idle vanity of such an observance.

At every house in the town, through those streets by which the procession was to pass, it had been proclaimed, by sound of trumpet, that a waxen torch, bearing a shield emblazoned with the arms of Brittany, was to be paraded.* And thus the body of the Queen-Duchess quitted the town where the happiest moments of her life had been passed, to seek repose beneath a gorgeous monument at St. Denis, destined at a later day to be violated by a sneering mob, and the body, now held so sacred, cast amongst a heap of equally insulted remains, in that trench which swallowed up the Royalty of France.

Even the heart of the venerated Duchess, which was placed in a golden case, and sent, by the pious care of Louis, to Brittany, and deposited, with tears and regrets, by her attached subjects in the tomb of their last Duke at Nantes, was destined to be treated with contumely in those evil days when nothing was respected.

The heart itself, after being handled by profane hands, was cast away as valueless dust, as it was—loved and honoured once though it had been—and the golden casket that had contained it made a show of in the

* In the *Ordre du Convoi d'Anne de Bretagne*, by Godefroy, amongst many tedious particulars of the ceremony, it is named that "le poille (canopy) était a bande de velours blanc et *bleu* armoyé aux armes et blazon de la dite Dame comme Reyne et Duchesse: puis venoit le charriot où était le corps et dessus le dict charriot une grande couverte de veloux noir à une croix de satin blanc."

Leber says that *violet* was not worn in mourning till *after* the 16th century, but it is nevertheless mentioned as Royal mourning.

Museum of Medals at Paris. This box was covered with inscriptions; on one side appeared these lines:*—

Cueur de vertus orné
Dignement couronné.

On another face:—

En ce petit vaisseau
De fin or pur et munde
Repose ung plus grand cueur
Que onque dame eut au monde.
ANNE fut le nom d'elle
En France deux fois roine
Duchesse des Bretons
Royale et Souveraine.

And, again, a third set forth:—

Ce cueur fut si très hault
Que la terre aux cieux
Sa vertu libérale
Accroissoit mieulx et mieulx.
Mais Dieu en a reprins
Sa portion meillure
Et ceste part terrestre
En grand deuil nous demeure
9 Jan.

Another was thus expressed:—

O cueur chaste et pudique
O juste et benin cueur,
Cueur magnanime et franc
De tous vices vanqueur.
O cueur digne entre tous
De couronne celeste,
Or est ton cler esprit
Horse de peine et moleste.†

* D'Argentré.

† See *Vie de la très Illustre Françoise d'Amboise Carmelite* Par T. Leon, 1649, for the last inscription.

The Court poet, André de la Vigne, composed a series of rondeaux, which he entitled "A Form of Epitaph; or, Complaint of Death," some of which are not devoid of merit. They set forth the grief of the King in moving numbers, but are generally more quaint than touching.

Pope Leo X. did not fail in his condolements, and the letter he sent to Louis on the occasion of his great loss contained a pompous eulogium on her numerous virtues. This letter was written by Cardinal Bembo, his secretary, and was dated 29th Jan., 1514, the first year of his Pontificate. He dwells particularly on the singular piety of Anne, and her attachment to the Church, and, he adds, that for himself, "cette très chère fille avait un attachement sincère." He says that not only will France, but other nations, lose many of their hopes by the loss of her assistance and support, and he takes that opportunity of exhorting Louis to tread in her steps.

The Pope was, indeed, well aware of all he had lost in her, and his regret was no doubt sincere. He finishes his eulogium by remarking that, doubtless, the Eternal Father had called her to Him so early in order to reward her great virtues, by admitting her into His ineffable presence, and crown those merits which she possessed far above the rest of her sex.

Leo wrote also to the Princess Claude to the same effect, holding up her mother's example to her as her surest guide, and making her many offers of counsel now that she was deprived of so valuable a mentor.

Louis appears to have been so much gratified by the expressions of the Pope that he acted towards the Holy See according to what he knew to be his wife's wish, and as he had promised her he would do, by adhering to the Council of Lateran, and declaring himself a fast friend to its interests.

Guicciardini observes on the death of Anne, which the Church had so much reason to lament, "Mori Anna reina di Francia, reina molto prestante, et *molto Catholica.*"

Anne was indeed singularly devout, even for her time, and is recorded to have had peculiar veneration for several saints. Sainte Claude and Sainte Anne shared her devotion with others. She made offerings to many shrines, and endowed and repaired churches and monasteries in Brittany; she gave a massive silver reliquary to Nôtre Dame d'Estampes, to contain the bodies of St. Quentin and his brother, and their sister, Ste. Potentiane; and furnished the hospital for the poor at Estampes with beds, linen, and other necessaries. The poor were everywhere and at all times the object of her care; at Blois she assigned a large revenue to the hospital; and, in 1500, she began to build a house for monks of the Order of St. François de Paule, generally called "des Bons Hommes" or "Minimes," near Paris, on the site of the Hotel de Bretagne.

Her intention was to establish a retreat for orphan girls, the first of those institutions to which her example gave rise. The plans had been drawn, and it was arranged that the building should be of cloistral form, with a large and commodious chapel attached.

There were to have been mistresses appointed to teach the young girls all kinds of useful work. She took great delight in settling the rules and regulations of this her favourite idea, but it was unfortunately arrested by her unexpected death, and fell to the ground.*

Few Princesses have had more or worse epitaphs than the Queen-Duchess—amongst them Bouchet gives the following quaint lines :—

Anne je suis Duchesse de Bretaigne,
Qui fust jadis de Charles et Louys,
Roys des François vray épouse et compaigne,
Dont tant d'honneurs sont encores ouïs :
Tous bien mondains se sont evanouis
De moy qui fus riche prudente et bonne,
L'an mil cinq cent et treze, qu'à la bonne
Conduitte fut de la fière Attropos,
Priez à Dieu qu'a mon ame pardonne,
Et qu'il luy donne en Paradis repos.

On the white marble tomb erected in St. Denis by Louis was engraved this epitaph, which, if it was selected as the best of the many, is the more remarkable :—

La terre, monde et ciel ont devisé Madame
Anne, qui fust des Roys Charles et Louys la femme,
La terre a pris le corps qui gist sous cette lame
Le monde aussi retient sa renommée et fame :
Perdurable à jamais, sans être blasmée d'âme
Et le ciel pour sa part a voulu prendre l'âme.

The Univerrsity of Paris contributed its part, and

* See Pierre de Marcuil in his *Vie de Jeanne de Valois.*

consecrated to her memory these* circumstantial verses:—

Anne, qui fus de Blois transmise morte icy,
De François Duc dernier de Bretagne issy.
Après la mort duquel en mon unzieme année
Par Charles Roy François me fust guerre menée:
Qu'aucuns de mes subjets et amis estrangers
Soustindrent sous moi avecques grands dangers.
Mais quand eusmes trois ans l'effect d'elle senty,
Il me requist à femme et je m'y consenty.
Combien que l'Empereur me fist dire et scavoir
Que pour chère compagne il desiroit m'avoir.
De Charles j'eus d'enfans, que tous trois la mort prit,
Puis a vingt-huict ans luy mesme le surprit,
De France regrettée, après ce je party
Ayant vingt et un an lors du second party.
Louys son successeur me fist fort grande instance
Dont fus (graces à Dieu), deux fois Reine de France.
Juste et loyal me fus et telle je luy fus,
Et durant deseize ans quatre enfans de luy j'eus.
Desquels moururent deux et deux filles resta,
Quand celuy qui me fist de ce monde m'osta,
Mil cinq centz treize fut de Janvier le neufvieme,
N'ayant encore attaint mon an trente septième.
Dont François et Bretons receurent perte esgale
Car je fus à tous deux tousiours tres-liberale
Et de leur contenter je travaillis à tant
Qu'oncques homme de moy ne partit malcontent,
Parquoy je vous supply de faire à Dieu prière
Qu'il repose mon ame en celeste lumière.

"After the grand ceremony of the burial of the Queen-Duchess, at St. Denis, had taken place, the Herald-at-Arms of Brittany," says Gaguin, "called out three times, in loud and *very piteous voice:* 'The very Christian Queen of France, Duchess of Brittany, our Sovereign Lady, is dead!'"

* D'Argentré gives this epitaph as valuable from containing historical facts; indeed, it records her whole history in little.

To this affecting announcement the chronicler adds: "Et puis ung chascun sen alla *pour prendre sa refection*, et le corps de la Dame demeura en sa sepulture. Dieu face mercy a son ame."*

So ended the last scene of the earthly pomp and greatness of the heiress of Brittany, twice Queen of France. The extravagant honours shown to her memory by her husband, were so expensive, that there were not wanting many, both of the nobles and the people, who saw cause for blame in demonstrations so costly to the country. Even in Council, allusion was made to the great charge incurred, with comments which roused the indignation of the Count de Laval, one of that house always intimately attached to the late Queen; he rose in extreme irritation, and thus addressed the lords assembled:—

"Tell me, you who murmur, which of the Queens of France ever brought such a territory to their husbands? By her means you have closed the path of your enemies, who were before able to reach even to the very heart of your kingdom whenever it pleased the Dukes, her predecessors, who held the keys of your gates, to permit it. Was not that the reason why you were unable, *for a thousand years*, to gain the advantage which she brought you? have you not supplicated, schemed, and striven in vain to obtain what you now enjoy through her alone? and do you dare to undervalue so great a gain at last?"

This just view of the case silenced all murmurs, and

* See Gaguin. The copy consulted is black letter, 1532, at the public library at Rouen.

not another voice was raised in reproval of the honours paid to Anne of Brittany.

Under the date of Sept. 22, 1514, Louise de Savoye has entered in her journal :—

"Le Roy Louis, fort antique et debile, sortit de Paris, pour aller audevant de *sa jeine femme*, la Reine Marie;" and on the 1st January, 1515, she writes the exulting words :—

"Mon fils fut Roy de France."

THE END.

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